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OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETIES OF AUSTRALIA

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES:

Social Anthropology. **Berndt.**

Professor A. P. Elkin—An Appreciation. *By Ronald M. Berndt, M.A., Ph.D., Dip.Anthrop., Senior Lecturer in Anthropology, University of Western Australia.*

Initially as a student and later as a colleague and friend of Professor A. P. Elkin, I feel it indeed a privilege to be asked by the Anthropological Society of New South Wales to record my appreciation of him on his retirement (on May 31st of this year) from the Chair of Anthropology in the University of Sydney. Moreover, although I regard this task as something very personal, it is designed as a tribute from his many friends both in Australia and overseas, and from the Council of the New South Wales Anthropological Society. Some little time ago we planned to present a *festschrift*, but for various reasons, including my own absence overseas, the project has not been completed. I therefore take the opportunity of acknowlegding my own debt, and that of my wife, to Professor Elkin. From the time I first came in contact with him in 1939—when I arrived in Sydney from Adelaide, armed with references from Professors J. B. Cleland and T. Harvey Johnston, but warned that Anthropology was a precarious profession and independent means were essential if anything were to be achieved (the old idea of Anthropology as a " gentleman's hobby " had not then disappeared in parts of Australia), throughout my training and later research, I had his active encouragement and constructive help. There was then only one Department of Anthropology in Australia and only one Professor of Anthropology, and the measure of his aid to me personally must be seen in relation not only to the war years, but also to their aftermath, when research funds were not as plentiful as they are to-day. However, my intention here is not to underline these personal aspects, but rather to sketch very briefly the career and interests of Professor Elkin.

Professor A. P. Elkin, M.A. (Syd.), Ph.D. (London) ; Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute (1926) ; member of the Australian National Research Council (1932-1955)[1] ; member of the Social Science Research Council of Australia (since its foundation, and also a Trustee) ; member of the Association of Social Anthropologists ; member of the Royal Society of New South Wales (since 1933)[2] ; President of the Anthropological Section, A.N.Z.A.A.S. (1935) ; official member of the Conference on Native Education in Pacific Countries, Honolulu, 1936 ; Australian member of the permanent Council of the Pacific

[1] Chairman of Committee on Anthropology of the Australian National Research Council from 1933 ; member of the Executive Council, 1935–55 ; Chairman of the N.S.W. Division of the A.N.R.C., 1944–55, and Chairman of the A.N.R.C., 1953–55.

[2] President, 1941.

Adolphus Peter Elkin, M.A., Ph.D.,
Professor of Anthropology, University of Sydney
1934—1956

Science Council (since 1947)[3]; member of the Australian delegation to the first Pan-Indian Ocean Science Congress (1949-50) and President of the Pan-Indian Ocean Science Association since 1954-[4]; member of a Conference on Race Relations in World Perspective, Honolulu, 1955; sometime member of the Permanent Council of the International Congress of Ethnology; and Trustee of the Australian Museum for many years. In these and other capacities Professor Elkin has played a vital part in the development and direction of Anthropology in Australia and Oceania. In 1949 he received the Medal of the Royal Society of New South Wales, and the same Society awarded him the coveted honour of the James Cook Medal for 1955, "for distinguished contributions to Anthropology and to human welfare." Further, he has been a Livingstone Lecturer (Sydney, 1940),[5] a Macrossan Lecturer (Queensland, 1944),[6] and a David Lecturer (A.N.R.C., Hobart, 1949).[7]

Dr. A. P. Elkin was the second holder[8] of the Chair of Anthropology in the University of Sydney, and is, up to date, the only Australian to hold a Chair of Anthropology either here or in Great Britain. The Sydney Department, for many years the only full teaching and research Department of Anthropology in Australasia, was founded in 1925, having as its first professor the outstanding and colourful figure of A. R. Radcliffe-Brown.[9] The latter remained with us for only a short period. Dr. Elkin took temporary charge of the Department in December 1932, and towards the end of 1933 was appointed to the Chair. It devolved upon him to carry on where Radcliffe-Brown had left off. To estimate the task he had in hand, it should be remembered that 1933 was expected to be the final year of this Department[10]: it was at its lowest ebb. We have been in the habit of saying that Radcliffe-Brown founded the Sydney Department. This, of course, is historically true. But it is also true to say that Elkin re-established it, reconstructed it, and not only kept it going but developed its range of interests—enlarged its staff, its teaching potentialities, and its research, and assured it of a place not only in local academic life but in the wider community. This point is not sufficiently well recognized outside Sydney, but the explanation of that is beside the point in this Appreciation. Professor Elkin retires from this position having accomplished a formidable task, having held the Chair in Anthropology for 23½ years, having deeply influenced Australian attitudes to Anthropology, and having fulfilled the obligations laid down by his discipline and by the academic institution to which he belonged. He relinquishes the Chair, but not his active research and interest in Australian and Oceanic Anthropology. He continues as Editor and Manager of the Journal *Oceania*, now published under the auspices of the University of Sydney, and is currently Director of the Nuffield Foundation-University of Sydney Central New Guinea project in Human Biology and Anthropology.

[3] Appointed by the A.N.R.C. and more recently by the Australian Academy of Science, Leader of the delegations to the Congresses held in New Zealand (1949) and the Philippines (1953).

[4] Recently appointed by the Academy of Science as Australian representative on the Council.

[5] *Society, the Individual and Change, with special reference to War and other Present-Day Problems*, Sydney, 1941.

[6] *Aboriginal Man of High Degree*, the John Murtagh Macrossan Memorial Lectures for 1944. Australasian Publishing Co., Sydney.

[7] "Man and His Cultural Heritage," *Oceania*, Vol. XX, No. 1, pp. 1–28.

[8] Dr. Raymond Firth (now Professor of Social Anthropology at the London School of Economics and Political Science, University of London) coming between Professor A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and Professor Elkin, held the title of Acting Professor eighteen months: see A. P. Elkin, "A. R. Radcliffe-Brown-1880–1955," *Oceania*, Vol. XXVI, No. 4, p. 244.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 240.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 244.

After leaving secondary school, Professor Elkin was for a time employed in a bank, but found this type of work uncongenial and not in line with his own incipient interest in a broader field. Entering St. Paul's College and the University of Sydney, he obtained his B.A. degree (majoring in Philosophy, which included Sociology, and studying Geology and History as well as Latin). He followed this with an M.A. (majoring again in Philosophy, but presenting a thesis on " The Religion of the Australian Aborigines," based on the work of Spencer and Gillen, Howitt, Roth and others, and influenced by Durkheim and Rivers). Before carrying out post-graduate work in London, he was Vice-Warden of St. John's College (Theological) at Armidale, and lectured in History and Philosophy ; he was also Rector of Wollombi, outside Maitland, and in 1923-1925 gave W.E.A. lectures in Anthropology at Newcastle, as a University Tutor in Anthropology (the first to be appointed in that subject).

He studied for (in 1925-1926) and took his Ph.D. degree at University College, University of London, under Sir Grafton Elliot Smith (for Physical Anthropology), with W. J. Perry as mentor (but his later work showed little trace of influence from Perry's theories), and attended seminars on field work under the direction of Bronislaw Malinowski. During this period too he made the passing acquaintance of Radcliffe-Brown[11] and of Sir James Frazer ; he had previously met Haddon. Naturally enough, under the influence of such teachers he became interested, on the one hand, in the distribution of culture traits, particularly in connection with myths, rites and symbols in Aboriginal Australia, and on the other in the vital need for field work and the study of living peoples.

Although, in Elkin's own words,[12] he " was almost a stranger to Radcliffe-Brown," he was nominated by the latter for fellowships for anthropological research and field work under the A.N.R.C. in 1927-1929, spending a year in the Kimberleys (north-west Western Australia), and again in 1930-1931, spending a year in various parts of South Australia.[13] Elkin was the first research fellow in Anthropology to be sponsored by the A.N.R.C.[14] On the field (owing primarily to Rivers' emphasis), he specialized in the genealogical method on one hand and totemism and Aboriginal religion on the other. Since Anthropology in Australia was entirely in its formative stage, Elkin found it necessary to develop his own methodology and field techniques in the light of the local situation[15] : and working through the indigenous

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[11] *Ibid.*, p. 245, footnote 11.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 245.

[13] This resulted in a number of scientific papers, most notably " The Dieri Kinship System," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LXI, 1931 ; " The Social Organization of South Australian Tribes," *Oceania*, Vol. II, No. 1, 1931 ; " The Kopara, the Settlement of Grievances," *Oceania*, Vol. II, No. 2, 1931 ; " Social Organization in the Kimberley Division," *Oceania*, Vol. II, No. 3, 1932 ; " Studies n Australian Totemism," *Oceania Monograph*, No. 2, 1933 ; " Cult Totemism and Mythology in Northern South Australia," *Oceania*, Vol. V, No. 2, 1934 ; " Initiation in the Bard Tribe, North-Western Australia," *Journal of the Royal Society of N.S.W.*, Vol. 69, 1936 ; " Beliefs and Practices Connected with Death in North-East and Western South Australia," *Oceania*, Vol. VII, No. 3, 1937 ; " Kinship in South Australia," *Oceania* Bound Reprint, 1938–40 ; " Studies in Australian Linguistics," *Oceania Monograph* (A. P. Elkin ed.), 1939.

[14] The Department of Anthropology, University of Sydney, had been founded in 1925, and Radcliffe-Brown took up his appointment in 1926. For other " early " research workers, see A. P. Elkin, *ibid.*, p. 240, footnote 2.

[15] As Elkin notes, in the beforementioned article (*ibid.*), that although he was in the field for two years and sent Radcliffe-Brown reports every few weeks he heard from him only twice. Some of his results were incorporated by Radcliffe-Brown in his " Social Organization of Australian Tribes," *Oceania Monograph*, No. 1.

languages, it was not long before he realized the crucial importance of such elements as kinship-totemism-ritual in understanding Aboriginal life. He was pioneering the development of systematic anthropological field work in Australia. In the Kimberleys he worked in more or less " new " country among the Ungarinyin, and in northern South Australia he went beyond European settlement into the Musgraves. From the point of view of physical effort, this was no mean feat : he used a utility truck, was sent out petrol by camel, and at times had to dig for water.

In 1932-1933 Dr. Raymond Firth was Acting Professor at the newly established Department, and wishing to take leave for the 1933 academic year suggested to the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sydney that Elkin might relieve him. Firth,however, presently resigned. As I have noted, the position of Anthropology within the University at that time was uncertain, and its future prospects decidedly grim ; but in the middle of 1933 the Commonwealth Government renewed its grant for five years, and at the end of the year Elkin was appointed to the Chair. Professor Elkin then approached the Government asking for an increase in the allocated amount, and an extension of time. This was granted. It gave stability to the Department, provided for a permanent lecturer, and permitted some continuity in research projects. Gradually, too, the Vice-Chancellor (Professor Wallace) allowed the Department to become increasingly the responsibility of the University. The Executive Committee of the Australian National Research Council (A.N.R.C.) was extremely helpful during this period. On this as well as on the Professorial Board of the University were men who had known Elkin since he was a student, treated him as one of themselves, and encouraged him in his plans. Writing to me recently on this topic (May 28th, 1956), Professor Elkin mentioned that " strange as it may seem to some, my Church Affiliation and office was always respected and treated as an added qualification—though not referred to patently." In conjunction with his first-hand acquaintance with Aboriginal conditions, and his professorial status, this gave him considerable influence with government and other bodies interested in Anthropology, or in the Australian Aborigines and other non-literate peoples.

Under Elkin's régime, field research flourished.[16] One need only glance through the pages of the journal *Oceania*, the editorship of which he assumed in 1933, to realize how much work was accomplished during that period, because many of the articles published were made possible through association with or financial backing from the A.N.R.C. For a number of years the A.N.R.C. made up the *Oceania* deficit from research funds ; but in about 1939 Professor Elkin approached the Carnegie Corporation for financial aid to ensure the maintenance of this journal and research. In response, he was somewhat startled to receive a cheque for $10,000, made out to A. P. Elkin. Needless to say, very good use was made of the money : *Oceania* was kept going throughout the war years. Further, at times Professor Elkin has obtained donations from individuals and from institutions.

[16] Carried out, for instance, by W. C. Groves, F. L. S. Bell, H. I. Hogbin, Ursula McConnel, Camilla Wedgwood (see *Oceania*, Vol. XXVI, No. 3, 1956), W. E. H. Stanner, Phyllis Kaberry, Lauriston Sharp, J. A. Todd (during his second trip to New Guinea), T. G. H. Strehlow (indirectly), Olive Pink, Caroline Kelly, A. Capell, Ronald and Catherine Berndt, etc., and more recently Marie Reay, Ruth Fink, Margaret McArthur, M. Meggitt, J. Bell, M. Calley, D. Ryan, and so on. Associated in one way and another with the A.N.R.C. and the Department of Anthropology, University of Sydney, were R. Fortune, G. Bateson, Margaret Mead, Douglas Oliver, F. D. McCarthy, John Whiting, Stephen Reed, the Frobenius Expedition, and, since the last war, many others—e.g. Miss Girard, the Watsons, Lane, Maher, the Falkenburgs, etc.

At this juncture, let us take a look at Elkin's own field work. I have already mentioned that he was in the Kimberleys from October 1927 until October 1928, undertaking an intensive survey. He spent two months among the Nyul-Nyul, and then went on (for about five weeks) to the Bard and Djaui. He returned by lugger to Broome, then went on to Wyndham and out to Forrest River (spending about three months). Then he went overland through the East Kimberleys and along the Fitzroy to Derby, and rode across the King Leopold Range to the Charnley River (Munja) Aboriginal Station (which had just been opened). He stayed there for two to three months, then took a lugger around to Port George IV (Worora tribe), where he saw more of the Ungarinyin. About two or three weeks later he took a lugger to Broome ; here he experienced storms which at times drove the boat out to sea on one hand, at others made going difficult with headwinds or none at all. At last he arrived at Broome and went on to La Grange to work with the Karadjeri.

The year 1930 found him carrying out research in South Australia, but not restricting himself to State boundaries. He went up to Oodnadatta after the Aluridja, to William Creek with the Arabana, to Flinders Range (where the Wailpi were to be found), to Murnpeowie (among the Dieri), on to Innamincka (the Yantruwanta), to Birdsville, and down the Diamantina ; up to northern South Australia and into the Musgrave Ranges ; then to western South Australia along the East-West Transcontinental Railway line, into Western Australia, visiting Mt. Margaret. This survey, together with the one he made in the Kimberleys, resulted in a number of valuable scientific contributions, and also served as a foundation for future field work. It was on the basis of this first-hand empirical material, in conjunction with analysis of the research results of others, that his volume *The Australian Aborigines : How to Understand Them*, first published in 1938, came into being.[17] This has maintained its high place among the literature dealing with Australian Aborigines, and is coming to be regarded as a classic.

From 1933, Professor Elkin extended his research to include parts of N.S.W. and Queensland. For instance, he paid frequent visits to the Kattang of Pt. Stephens and Taree, to Kempsey district groups, to the Far North Coast (e.g., the Bandjelang), and the Waka Waka, etc., at Cherbourg (Queensland). In addition, he made several visits (especially in the early 1940's and 1946) to Palm Island, Yarrabah, and out from Rockhampton.

In 1946 he had a most rewarding trip when, at the invitation of the Administrator, he made a survey of the Port Moresby district, visiting in addition Kerema, the Trobriands, Rabaul and Manus. primarily to study post-war conditions. In 1949, this time for the South Pacific Commission, he visited the northern Papuan division, and also the well-known Orokaiva.[18] The same year found him in the Central Highlands of the Trust Territory of New Guinea ; he was able to visit most bases—e.g. Goroka,[19] Chimbu, Mingende, Kerowahgi, Mt. Hagen, Nondugl and Wabaga. From there he went on to Madang, Wewak and Maprik (on the Sepik River), and returned via Port Moresby. This survey was to bear

[17] Now in its third edition (1954). This recent edition has been revised and material from his later research incorporated.

[18] He was thus in a position to advise Miss Marie Reay in choice of an area for field work.

[19] Here he selected the area in which Dr. K. E. Read was to carry out field work. Also, from his personal acquaintance with the Highlands, he later suggested the Kainantu sub-district as a promising area when my wife and I were planning to work in the New Guinea field, as well as fields for Professor Watson, Mademoiselle Girard, Mr. D'Arcy Ryan and others.

positive fruit. On the one hand, it served as a basis for a much-needed volume[20]; on the other, his period at Wabaga[21] (in the western highlands) strengthened his determination to carry out more intensive work there. This resulted in the research project sponsored by the University of Sydney and the Nuffield Foundation, which covered the western highlands of New Guinea, and was (and is—since a second generous grant has been allocated) a joint project of the Departments of Anthropology and Anatomy,[22] in association with the New South Wales Red Cross Blood Transfusion Research Laboratory.

Now, returning to the Australian arena: Elkin made his first survey of the Arnhem Land coast in 1946, when my wife and I met him at Millingimbi on our way to Yirrkalla, on the north-eastern corner. This survey had the blessing of the Administrator. On the King River he saw an initiation ceremony, and was so taken with the beautiful music of these parts that he became determined to return some day and record it.[23] At Goulburn Islands he witnessed a burial ritual, and on arrival in Darwin went over to Delissaville, where he heard more music.[24] He also visited Bathurst and Melville Islands. This was the period when he met the Duke of Gloucester at the Elsey; and it was during this survey that he began personally to explore the general post-war situation in the upper part of the Northern Territory.

In 1947 and again in 1948 he was able to re-visit the Territory, this time working with the Djauan, Rembaranga, Mangarai and Wagaitj. This work was repeated in 1949, but now his wish to record Aboriginal music was fulfilled.[25] With a party of seven,[26] the Australian Broadcasting Commission co-operating, and with Mr. Jesse Buffum providing movie Kodachrome, Professor Elkin recorded music among the abovementioned tribes, visiting Beswick, Mainoru and Delissaville. Dr. (now Professor) N. W. G. Macintosh carried out research in physical anthropology and archæology, and Dr. A. Capell in linguistics. In 1952 another party of seven, under Elkin, visited the same area and recorded more music, in addition to Kodachrome movies, for educational "shorts" of Aborigines.[27] Further work in social organization and ritual was carried out, as well as in physical anthropology; Dr. Capell continued his linguistic research and some experimental psychological work was done by W. A. McElroy. In 1953 Professor Elkin visited Central Australia, particularly Yuendumu and Areyonga (out from Hermannsburg), and was also able to contact the Warramunga and Wailbri at Phillips Creek, where ritual was recorded. Going on to southern Arnhem Land, he was able to check translations of songs recorded earlier, while further recordings were made in Darwin.

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[20] *Social Anthropology in Melanesia, A Review of Research*, Oxford 1953.

[21] *Vide* "Delayed Exchange in Wabag Sub-District, Central Highlands of New Guinea. With Notes on the Social Organization," *Oceania*, Vol. XXIII, No. 3, 1953.

[22] *Vide* "University of Sydney and Nuffield Research Project in the Western Highlands of New Guinea," *The Gazette*, University of Sydney, Vol. 1, No. 10, Nov. 1955, pp. 132–3, and in *The Nuffield Foundation Report for the Year ended 31st March* 1955, Oxford, pp. 72–4.

[23] His love of Aboriginal poetry and song is manifested in the volume he compiled with W. E. Harney—*Songs of the Songmen*, Melbourne 1949.

[24] On all such visits he made at least preliminary studies of kinship and social structure. E.g., "The Ngirawat, or the Sharing of Names in the Wagaitj Tribe, Northern Australia," Sonderdruck aus *Beitrage zur Gesellungs- und Völkerwissenschaft*, Verlag Gebr. Mann, Berlin 1950.

[25] *Vide* "Arnhem Land Music," *Oceania*, 1953–56. Discs for most of this are also available.

[26] *Vide Oceania*, Vol. XX, No. 2, p. 165.

[27] *Vide* "Films on Australian Aboriginal Subjects," *Oceania*, Vol. XXV, Nos. 1 and 2, 1954, pp. 122–4.

The above brief sketch of the field work and travels of Professor Elkin demonstrates more clearly than anything else his own indefatigable energy and interest. The increasing administrative responsibility which followed his acceptance of the Sydney Chair in 1933 did not restrict his scope, nor force him into any Ivory Tower. On the contrary, he has always been aware of contemporary problems and of the relevance here of what is usually called applied Anthropology.

In considering his specific interests, the position is more difficult. Something of the range has already been indicated; but this does not give an adequate picture. Professor Elkin, of course, is particularly well known for his work on social organization, kinship, totemism and religious life in Aboriginal Australia. It is in this continent that his most detailed work has been done; in New Guinea and Papua, while carrying out systematic work in certain areas, he has concentrated primarily on surveys, at times when they were needed from the viewpoint not only of Anthropology, but of the Administration. However, he has not confined himself to the non-literate field, and has maintained a lively interest in empirical sociology, not only encouraging field research in that discipline[28] but insisting on the teaching of it in his Department. His interest in complex, industrialized societies came to the fore in 1936, and has been sustained ever since. Probably more than half of the M.A. theses presented in the Sydney Department have been in this sphere, the majority based on field research. During and after the last war he was engaged in special research projects, the results of which have only partially been published.[29] Further, he has not only himself worked among part-Aborigines, but encouraged B.A. honours and post-graduate students to do likewise.[30] Linguistics has been encouraged in the Sydney Department for many years, and from its inception has been under the able guidance of Dr. A. Capell. Elkin's own interest in this related discipline can be gauged from the work he has written and edited,[31] and the linguistic material published under his ægis.[32] But even more, the breadth of his interests is manifested in his contributions to the broader sociological-anthropological humanistic field.[33] In the course of the years he has made periodic surveys of the state of Anthropology in Australia and Oceania, and since he has for so long had his fingers on the pulse of Anthro-

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[28] One thinks here of the work of Dr. Jean Craig (Martin), Mona Ravenscroft and others of his students. Professor K. F. Walker, of the Department of Psychology, University of Western Australia, also took a diploma in Anthropology under Elkin.

[29] E.g., *Our Opinions and the National Effort*, Sydney 1941; "Study of Public Opinion," *Australian Journal of Science*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 1942; "Changes that are upon Us," *Presidential Address to the Australian Institute of Sociology*, Sydney 1943; "The Need for Sociological Research in Australia," *Social Horizons*, July 1943.

[30] Two Ph.D. students of the Department of Anthropology, University of Sydney, are specializing in this field.

[31] See footnote 13; "The Nature of Australian Languages," *Oceania*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, 1937; "The Languages of the Kimberley Division," *Oceania*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, 1937 (with Capell); "Native Languages and the Field Worker in Australia," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 43, 1941.

[32] E.g., that of A. Capell, T. G. H. Strehlow, W. E. Smythe, C. M. Churchward, H. Nekes and others.

[33] E.g., *Society, the Individual and Change*, Robert Dey, Son and Co., Sydney 1941; "Science, Society and 'Everyman,'" *Royal Society of N.S.W., Journal and Proceedings*, Vol. 75, 1941; *Man, Society and Change*, Sydney 1946; "International Implications of Atomic Energy," *Australian Quarterly*, Vol. XVIII, No. 3, 1946; "Man and His Cultural Heritage," *Oceania*, Vol. XX, No. 1, 1949; "The Rights of Man in Primitive Society," *Human Rights*, ed. U.N.E.S.C.O., 1949; "Anthropology," in *Light Out of France* (ed. by J. G. Stanbury and A. R. Chisholm), Angus and Robertson, Sydney 1951, pp. 120–34; "The Natural History of Man," *Presidential Address to the 2nd Pan-Indian Ocean Science Congress* 1954.

pology, these are historically valuable.[34] His versatility is demonstrated further by his work on ethnological subjects and art of native peoples.[35] Throughout the years, too, he has maintained an active interest in the education of non-literate peoples in Australia and New Guinea,[36] but this is not the place to indicate how it has borne fruit. He has always linked it to the practical aspects of Anthropology as a discipline.[37]

I have said already that Professor Elkin " came into " Anthropology via the Church, and he has kept up such ties throughout his career. On the one hand, he has contributed to the history of the diocese with which he has associations.[38] On the other hand, and possibly more broadly relevant to Anthropology, and general Aboriginal policy and administration, this early training and strong affiliation have stood him in good stead in emphasizing the relevance of Anthropology to missionaries and missionary endeavour. In this respect his influence has been considerable.[39] For instance, he succeeded in persuading several missionary bodies to send selected workers and students to the Sydney Department for training in introductory anthropology and linguistics ; part of this course was specially oriented to take into account the specific problems they could expect to encounter.

Without attempting to assess here the contributions of Professor Elkin to Australian and Oceanic Anthropology, I would say categorically that his great strength has rested in his positive, constructive and untiring efforts to influence and mould (often behind the scenes) administrative policy towards the peoples of Aboriginal Australia and of Papua-New Guinea.

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[34] E.g., " Anthropology in Australia, Past and Present," *Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science*, 1935 ; " Anthropological Research in Australia and the Western Pacific, 1927–1937," *Oceania*, Vol. VIII, No. 3, 1938 ; " Anthropology in Australia," *Oceania*, Vol. X, No. 1, 1939 ; " Anthropology and the War," *Mankind*, Vol. 3, No. 3, 1942 ; " Anthropology and the Peoples of the S.-W. Pacific," *Oceania*, Vol. XIV, No. 1, 1943 ; " Australia and New Zealand," in the *International Directory of Anthropological Institutions*, Wenner-Gren Foundation, New York 1953 ; " The Australian National Research Council," in the *Australian Journal of Science*, Vol. 16, No. 6, 1954 ; " Research Development in the S.-W. Pacific," *Sociologus*, Vol. 4, No. 2, 1954 ; " Anthropology, its Study and Use in Australia," U.N.E.S.C.O., *International Social Science Bulletin*, Vol. VII, No. 2, 1955.

[35] E.g., " Cave Paintings in the Carnarvon Ranges, S.E. Queensland," *Oceania*, Vol. XI, No. 1, 1940 ; " A Modern Aboriginal Artist," *Social Horizons*, 1945 ; " Pressure Flaking in the Northern Kimberley Australia," *Man*, Vol. 48, 1948 ; " Grey's Northern Kimberley Cave-Paintings Re-found," *Oceania*, Vol. XIX, No. 1, 1948 ; " The Origin and Interpretation of Petroglyphs in S.E. Australia," *Oceania*, Vol. XX, No. 2, 1949 ; *Art in Arnhem Land* (with R. and C. Berndt), Melbourne and University of Chicago Press, 1950 ; " Cave Paintings in Southern Arnhem Land," *Oceania*, Vol. XXII, No. 4, 1952.

[36] E.g., " Education of Native Races in Pacific Countries," *Oceania*, Vol. VII, No. 2, 1936 ; Seminar-Conference on Education in Pacific Countries, Honolulu, 1936, *Papers and Addresses* ; " Native Education in New Guinea," *Oceania*, Vol. VII, No. 3, 1937 ; " Native Education with special reference to the Australian Aborigines," *Oceania*, Vol. VII, No. 4, 1937 ; " Anthropological and Ethnological Teaching in Public Education," *Man*, Vol. 46, 1946 ; " The Emergence of Psychology, Anthropology and Education," in 100 *Years of the Faculty of Arts, Sydney University*, 1952 ; " Education in Aboriginal Australia," *Proceedings of the 7th Pacific Science Congress*, Vol. 7, 1953.

[37] Indeed, his first published article was along these lines—i.e. " The Practical Value of Anthropology," *The Morpeth Review*, Vol. I, Nos. 7–10, 1929.

[38] E.g., *Morpeth and I*, Sydney, 1937 ; " Some Early Chaplains and Churches in the Hunter River Valley," *Royal Australian Historical Society Journal and Proceedings*, Vol. 23, 1937 ; *The Wollombi and the Parish of Wollombi*, Dimmocks, West Maitland, 1946 ; *The Diocese of Newcastle, N.S.W., Australia*, Sydney, 1955 (pp. I-XXIII, 1–827, e.g., see p. VII).

[39] " Religion and an Anthropologist," *The Morpeth Review*, Vol. II, No. 20, 1932 ; " Missionary Policy for Primitive Peoples," *The Morpeth Review*, Vol. III, No. 27, 1934 ; " Anthropology and the Australian Aboriginal," in J. S. Needham, *White and Black in Australia*, 1935 ; " The Aborigines, Our Responsibility," *The Church Standard*, 1937 ; articles in the *Missionary Review*, 1943, and *Lutheran Missionary*, 1944 ; " The Original Australians," *The Missionary Review*, 1943 ; " Post-War and the Aborigines," *National Missionary Council of Australia*, Sydney, 1945.

His influence cannot be adequately measured, but is partially revealed in his many articles and booklets on this subject. It began in 1931 with a series of addresses, and a Morpeth booklet published in 1934, entitled *A Policy for the Aborigines.*[40] This was followed by " The Aborigines, Our National Responsibility " (in the *Australian Quarterly*, No. 23, 1934) and others over the years. In 1933 he became (as he still is) President of the Association for the Protection of Native Races. This was a period too of intensive work. He took part in conferences and meetings, wrote for various newspapers and magazines, and wrote to the Government of that time. The Commonwealth Minister for the Interior responded, and he was consulted by several Ministers. In fact, so I am told, almost all those associated with native welfare from 1934 have availed themselves of his experience and understanding of the contemporary situation. In 1938, in conjunction with Mr. J. A. Carrodus and the Hon. John McEwen, he helped to draw up the " new deal " for the Australian Aborigines.

In 1937-1938 Elkin made representations which led to the Public Service Board inquiry in N.S.W. This resulted in the replacement of the old Protection Board by the Aboriginal Welfare Board, with himself as a member from 1940 and Vice-Chairman for most of the time after that.

During the war, with its changing values and demand for practical orientation, two significant booklets appeared : *Wanted—A Charter for the Native Peoples of the South-West Pacific* (Australasian Publishing Co., Sydney, 1943), and *Citizenship for the Aborigines* (Australasian Publishing Co., Sydney, 1944), in addition to *Aborigines and the Franchise* (Parramatta, 1946). These, with other articles,[41] did much to influence and direct trends in government native policy in both regions. In 1944 my wife and I were engaged as anthropologists to the Australian Investment Agency to make a survey of Aboriginal labour problems, with stress on welfare, on certain of this firm's Northern Territory pastoral stations. This was an appointment (the first of its kind in Australia) sponsored by Professor Elkin and the then Director of Native Affairs for the Northern Territory (Mr. E. W. P. Chinnery) ; and here again the results were positive in contributing to what later came to be known as the Northern Territory Pastoral Award.

Further, passing over the crowded years very sketchily, Professor Elkin influenced the Queensland Government's approach to Aboriginal policy by personal contact with Ministers and the Director ; he later made a considerable impact on Western Australian Aboriginal policy (through, I understand, Sir Ross McDonald, when Minister) ; and at the invitation of F. H. Rowe (Director of Social Services) he helped to bring the Aborigines within the scope of a positive plan. The only State having a large population of indigenous inhabitants and mixed bloods which was not influenced in this way by Elkin was (sad to relate) South Australia.

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[40] First printed in *The Morpeth Review*, Oct. 1933.

[41] E.g., " Reconstruction and the Native Peoples of the S.W. Pacific," *Mankind*, Vol. III, No. 5, 1943, with similar articles in the *Missionary Review* (1943) and the *Lutheran Missionary* (1944) ; " Social and Personal Rehabilitation," *People at Work*, 1944 ; " Rethinking the White Australia Policy," *Australian Quarterly*, Vol. XVII, No. 3, 1945 ; " Aboriginal Evidence and Justice in Northern Australia," *Oceania*, Vol. XVII, No. 3, 1947 ; " Native Peoples in Australia," in *Australia* (by C. Hartley Grattan, University of California Press, 1947) ; " Is White Australia Doomed ? " in *A White Australia, Australia's Population Problem*, 1947 ; " The Future of the Australian Aborigine," *Current Affairs Bulletin*, Vol. I, No. 13, 1948 ; " Recent Developments in Aboriginal Affairs," *The Aborigines' Protector*, Vol. II, No. 4, 1948 ; " Aborigines and the Ministers' Welfare Council," *The Australian Quarterly*, Vol. XXIII, No. 4, 1951.

In New Guinea, Professor Elkin had the confidence of the late Sir Hubert Murray,[42] and direct association with him. The same might be said of other New Guinea administrators. In addition he had ties of friendship with F. E. Williams[43] (Government Anthropologist) and E. W. P. Chinnery (both as Government Anthropologist in New Guinea and as Director of Native Affairs for the Northern Territory of Australia), and other administrative officers. (For a number of years New Guinea and Papuan administrative officers received training in Anthropology, in a specially oriented course, at the Sydney Department, a function taken over later by the Australian School of Pacific Administration, Mosman. Northern Territory administrative officials, as well as teachers, have continued to come to the Department for special training.) Mr. W. C. Groves in New Guinea, Middleton in Western Australia, a previous Director of Native Welfare in the Northern Territory (F. Moy), Austin (as first Aboriginal Welfare Officer in N.S.W.) and others had the support of Professor Elkin.

The Department of External Affairs, through Dr. Evatt, said that Professor Elkin had contributed materially to the idea of the South Pacific Commission ; this was evident in the booklet *Wanted—A Charter . . .*, which I understand the External Affairs Department consulted (or rather, in Professor Elkin's words, " on which it cross-examined me ").

At a conference held in Canberra (in 1949) and consisting of the heads of State Aboriginal Departments, as well as representatives of all Commonwealth Departments concerned with Aborigines, Elkin emphasized the need for education (see above) in order to fit the Aborigines for the rapid changes which were taking place.[44] (He also, as he has frequently stated, said much besides, " because no one else had any programme or objective " in view.) This resulted in the establishment of government schools for Aborigines in the Northern Territory, and underlined (a developing trend) assimilation as a goal—a theme which is now evident throughout individual State policies and regulations. Professor Elkin later presided at a conference held in Darwin which emphasized government and mission co-operation. In Sydney he called a meeting of mission directors, to obtain their help in ensuring that Aboriginal child endowment moneys should be used in approved ways.

With the outcry in the Press concerning Aborigines who might be affected by the establishment of the Rocket Range project in South Australia, the Federal Minister invited Professor Elkin to attend a conference of military and technical heads in Melbourne so that he could assess the risk to the Aborigines in question, and accordingly advise them. Further, if he cared, he was at liberty to make a public statement which it was understood all responsible mission bodies and others would accept. This was done.

[42] " Place of Sir Hubert Murray in Native Administration," *Australian Quarterly*, Vol. XII, No. 3. 1940.

[43] " F. E. Williams, Government Anthropologist, Papua (1922–43)," *Oceania*, Vol. XIV, No. 2, 1943. and *Mankind*, Vol. III, No. 5, 1943.

[44] As I have indicated, Elkin was interested not only in traditional Aboriginal life, but in the impact of non-Aborigines, and the processes of cultural and social change which were thus intensified. See " Cultural and Racial Clash in Australia," *The Morpeth Review*, Vol. II, 1932 ; " Civilized Aborigines and Native Culture," *Oceania*, Vol. VI, No. 2, 1935 ; " The Reaction of Native Races to the White Man's Culture. A Study of Culture Contact," *The Hibbert Journal*, Vol. 35, 1936–37 ; " Caste and Prestige in Modern New Guinea," *Australian Quarterly*, Vol. XVI, No. 3, 1944 ; " Reaction and Interaction : A Food Gathering People and European Settlement in Australia," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 53, No. 2, 1951 ; " Western Technology and the Australian Aborigines, *International Social Science Bulletin*, Vol. IV, No. 2, 1952 ; " Native Reaction to an Invading Culture and Its Bearers—with special reference to Australia," *Proceedings of the 7th Pacific Science Congress*, Vol. 7, 1953 ; " The Common Factor in Aboriginal and European Settlement in Australia," in the *Ghurye Felicitation Volume* (ed. K. M. Kapadia), 1950

In this brief outline there are necessarily many omissions. Twenty-three crowded years of active interest in nearly all branches of Anthropology cannot be adequately condensed into a few printed pages. I have, for instance, hardly mentioned Professor Elkin's building up of the Department of Anthropology in the University of Sydney, and his relations with other University departments—with Psychology, Archæology, Anatomy and Music, to mention only a few ; or the help he received from such departments as Electrical Engineering and from professors and technical staff at the New Medical School. He was a member, too, for about fourteen years, of the University of Sydney Research Committee and of the Board of Studies in Divinity (for eighteen to twenty years since its inception), and was Chairman for some years, and then member, of the Board of Oriental Studies. His activities within the University and his years of teaching hundreds of students cannot even be touched on here.

On his retirement he leaves a fully functioning and active Department of Anthropology. In 1933 it consisted of the Professor and his secretary and the lecturing services of a research fellow (made available by the A.N.R.C.). In May 1956 it consists of the Professor, a Reader in Anthropology, a Reader in Oceanic Linguistics, a Lecturer, a Tutor, a Temporary Lecturer, a Secretary, a Research Fellow (in Linguistics), a Research Assistant (Linguistics), the W. M. Strong Fellow (Social Anthropology), two post-graduate research students, and a research worker on a grant-in-aid. Research is in progress in Australia and New Guinea, and a Ph.D. degree in Anthropology has been established in the Faculty of Arts with four candidates already registered.

Professor Elkin has been a " figure " in Australian Anthropology for the last twenty-three years, and gives clear evidence of continuing to be so for many years to come. Apart from his directorship of the Nuffield-Sydney University New Guinea project, he remains Editor of *Oceania* ; he has the New Guinea scientific reports to edit, in monograph form. Six English publishers, I am told, have asked him to write a general volume on the New Guinea project, and he has agreed to do so for one of them. Another English firm wants him to write a general book on Aboriginal Art, its function and meaning, and one also on ritual. But before he can start these he intends to complete one on Aboriginal social structure. At present he is editing a volume on " Marriage and the Family in Australia." He is also giving 30 lectures at the Australian School of Pacific Administration to Northern Territory patrol officers, and he celebrated handing over the Department of Anthropology to his successor by going on a field trip to some of the " newest " regions of New Guinea. Surely this is not retirement !

There are not many anthropologists to-day who have the breadth of interest of Professor Elkin. His view of Anthropology is flexible enough to acknowledge no strict boundaries between associated disciplines ; he has never been narrow or parochial in his selection of courses or topics, as is the case in some anthropological circles. Nor did he preach that his way was the only way. There was no dogmatic denouncement of cultural in contradistinction to social, no evasion of important psychological aspects that may be relevant to Anthropology. Those of us who studied and worked with him were not confined to a disciplinary straight-jacket such as is evident in some departments. The convergence of Social Anthropology and Sociology was acknowledged, and not quibbled over ; and from this basic assumption it followed that we were interested and concerned, as anthropologists, in problems relating to man in all human societies, and not just in those which were non-literate or had only simple forms of technology. This perspective cannot be underestimated. The kind of Anthropology

which grew up in the Sydney department was no slavish imitation of that in England or elsewhere. Although it conformed to the basic tenets of our discipline, strongly influenced as it was by English Social Anthropology, it developed (or so we like to believe) an Australian flavour—a quality, moreover, which should allow us to speak of Australian Anthropology as we speak (generally) of English, North American or German Anthropology.

Professor Elkin has watched the development of Anthropology in Australia,[45] and has played his part in bringing it about. Anthropology, along with its sibling discipline Sociology (not yet developed to any extent in Australia, and for that reason we hope it may be possible to evade the sibling rivalry so evident elsewhere),[46] has reached its adolescence. The process of socialization has been slow, but it is ready to be more widely acknowledged in Australia and the Pacific, and more widely applied.

Elkin has seen, too, the development of native policy in Australia and New Guinea, and here again has played his part. As I have said, his influence in this respect has been great. He has minced no words on the controversial issue of Anthropology in its applied sense. Anthropology for him has direct relevance to everyday life—whether it be non-literate or highly industrialized and urbanized. Throughout his career he has been faced with the demand for its practical application, and has not hesitated to meet the challenge.

We in Australia, upon the occasion of his retirement from the Chair of Anthropology at the University of Sydney, render him our heartiest good wishes, offering this contribution in appreciation of the many services he has rendered to our discipline, and to the welfare of the native peoples in Australia and New Guinea.

RONALD M. BERNDT.

Polynesia: Social Anthropology. **Cato.**

Disintegration, Syncretization and Change in Fijian Religion. *By Dr. A. C. Cato, M.A., B.D., B.Ed.*

The impact of other and various social patterns on Fijian society in general, and on Fijian religion in particular, form a valuable and interesting study. Conclusions reached by an objective observer are often not desired by such interested persons as missionaries, government officers and European businessmen, each group of whom desires to promote the acculturation suited to its own interests. The Fijian is often eager to secure the particular *mana* that seems to impart cleverness and prestige to the European. Many profess to believe that this *mana* derives from the white man's religion or education or both. They, therefore,

[45] There is much more awareness of Anthropology among the general public than was the case some years ago; Government Departments of Native Affairs and Welfare are no longer so resistant to anthropology and anthropologists; the South Pacific Commission has anthropological representation; the Australian School of Pacific Administration teaches Anthropology to its administrative officers for the New Guinea and Papuan Service, and the Northern Territory; missionaries are more ready to acknowledge the relevance of Anthropology and the help of anthropologists, while a number of their candidates receive some training; teachers, too (especially those who will work in areas where non-literate people are located), are coming to realize its importance. Sydney no longer has the only Department of Anthropology; there is also the Department at the Australian National University, some Anthropology is taught at the Melbourne University (although no formal department is located there), while the University of Western Australia is in the process of developing Anthropology-Sociology and already has teaching and research under weigh. (See A. P. Elkin, "Anthropological Advance: Western Australia," *Oceania*, Vol. XXVI, No. 3, 1956, pp. 231–2.)

[46] The Australian National University department has a joint title of Anthropology and Sociology, as we hope will also that being developed in the University of Western Australia.

desire these not for their intrinsic value, as the missionary and educationist hope, but for the ends they serve. This predisposes the Fijian towards European culture and the predisposition, in turn, helps to disintegrate Fijian village culture. We shall now state briefly some present religious acculturative influences noted in Fijian society.

Present Religious Acculturative Influences

(*a*) *Features of the Old Religion Survive.*

The conflict between the teachings of Christianity as interpreted chiefly by the Methodist Church and the remaining elements of the old religion exemplifies the disintegrating process of Fijian village culture. Contrary to popular belief, the Fijian has not been completely Christianized. Much of the old religion survives notwithstanding such sweeping statements as that made by the Secretariat of the World Council of Churches: "Among Fijians the primitive religion has been superseded completely, for the Fijian race is entirely Christianized."[1]

It is true that in present-day field work many details of the old religion are difficult to recover. Missionary teachings and the remoteness of the informants from the old religion have rendered it impossible to be sure of the accuracy of what is recovered. On the other hand there is abundant evidence of beliefs that survive in a modern form from pre-Christian days. Ancestor-worship centres round the medicine-man, the sorcerer and certain ceremonial occasions. Totemic phenomena and belief, though fading in some villages, still play their part. Magic survives. The priestly social division, *mataqali bete*, is known and ancient shrines, though disused and overgrown, are often treated with fear and respect. Informants believed that sorcerers may sometimes secretly pour their libations on these. Myths and legends are recounted with a good deal of conviction.

Adherence to ancient superstition persists among well educated as well as among semi-literate Fijians. It provides efficient mechanism for the transmission of what remains of the ancient culture despite alien contacts and purposefully acculturative Christian religious influences. Beginning with the zeal and undoubted efficiency of the early missionaries, these influences have centred round the Church, its services and prayer meetings, its system of appointing white missionaries, native ministers, catechists and teachers, its day schools and other religious educational institutions. These influences have changed much of the social and religious life of all Fijian villages. It seems certain that the changes were helped by some genuine spiritual conversions in the early days of missionary effort and these have continued.

(*b*) *Influences which have Preserved Features of the Old Religion.*

But on the other hand, three influences have helped to preserve the surviving elements of the old religion: first, the persistence of belief in Fijian myth, legend and ancestral and other spirits; secondly, the authority and prestige which the old religion gave to the chief; and thirdly, the continued activities of the medicine-men and sorcerers.

(i) *Persistence of Old Beliefs.* Examination of present Fijian religious phenomena indicates that whereas the early missionaries aimed at radical displacement of the old religion by the new, what they actually achieved was a synthesis of the two. Supported by European

[1] Quoted in the Methodist *Spectator* (Melbourne), March 17, 1954, p. 10.

mana, much of the early Christian teaching was assimilated into the Fijians' own religious concepts. The word *kalou*, used by the missionary for God, signified a ghost or a spirit. A *kalou-vu* is the deified original ancestor. To the Fijian, saturated in his own religious concepts, Christ as son of the *kalou* would take his place in what seemed to be a new ancestral hierarchy introduced by the white man. In many instances it seems that the chief difference between present religious concepts and those of one hundred and twenty years ago is that Christian teaching has superimposed upon survivals of old beliefs the concept of another but, to the Fijians, similar deity called Christ. In some villages Christ has less functional value than their own culture-heroes, whose descent they usually trace (now somewhat vaguely) from the ancestral deities of the Nakauvadra range of mountains. But to the Fijians Christ is the culture-hero of the clever Europeans, and therefore must be acknowledged as a source of European *mana*. The Fijian medicine-men pray to the ancestral deities from Nakauvadra, to Degei, to Daquqaqa, to Torodreketi, to Caudrevakabuka, to Ravuvonina-kabuta and to the numerous ancestral deities and spirits known to the village Fijians. But because Christ is the acknowledged source of European *mana*, the medicine-man adds a prayer to " the Son of the Living God " so that he may claim, as he usually does, that he is a Christian. In this way the Fijians follow a natural tendency to believe their myths and legends and to invoke their ancestral spirits among whom are now the *Kalou* and *Luve-ni-Kalou* (Son of the *Kalou*) of the missionaries. The seeming incongruity to the missionary of invoking both deities falls away in the light of wider and scientific appreciation of the native mental attitudes involved.

(ii) *The Status of the Chief in the Old Religion.* The tendency of old beliefs to persist pertinently affects the status of chiefs. In the old religion the Fijian chief's descent from the ancestral spirits and deity gave him status, wealth and authority. The spirits of the deified ancestor (*kalou-vu*) and of subsequent ancestral descendants (*vu*) reside in the chief, who is thereby the representative of the gods.[2]

If the missionaries had succeeded in introducing the Christian ancestral hierarchy (*kalou* and *luve-ni-kalou*) in complete opposition to the Fijian ancestral deities, the acceptance of Christianity would have almost completely undermined the authority of the chief.

(iii) *The Continued Activities of Medicine-men and Sorcerers.* As the chief depends for his *mana* on descent from ancestral spirits, so the medicine-man depends on the offices of the indigenous spirits for the effectiveness of his ministrations and counter magic. In many Fijian villages magical powers associated with the function of the medicine-man continue to bring wealth, power and prestige to the ministrants. The sorcerer, too, secretly invokes the spirits by ritual prayer and libations of kava to cause sickness and death. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the chief, the medicine-man and the sorcerer realized in some degree the potential and actual undermining of their authority by Christian teaching, and therefore exercised their influence to effect a synthesis of what remained of the old religious beliefs and practices with the new. They used much of the Christian phraseology so that this synthesis now has wide significance in the culture and major importance for the educationist.[3]

[2] Hocart suggested that this may explain why Fijian chiefs are spoken of in the plural. See Hocart, *The American Anthropologist*, 1915, p. 637.

[3] For an example of this attempt to synthesize the old and the new, see Cato, A. C., *Oceania*, Vol. XVIII, No. 2, 1947, pp. 146–156. In some respects this example is extreme. In others it is typical. Further examples could be cited.

Present-day Fijian religious attitudes have developed from two driving forces. The missionaries attempted to eliminate completely the old religion and to replace it with Christianity. The priest, the medicine-man and the sorcerer, aided by native conservatism, attempted to maintain their authority by preserving the old by a process of synthesis with the new.

Four types of Fijian religious tendencies or attitudes may be distinguished. First, some Fijians remain almost entirely dominated by surviving elements of the old religion. Others endeavour to synthesize the old and the new. A third category is comprised of those who understand and accept the European interpretation of Christianity. Finally, a very few appear to have surrendered belief in either religion.

(i) *Fijians Dominated by Surviving Elements of the Old Religion.*

Even those Fijians whose loyalty is entirely given to surviving elements of Fijian religious and magical beliefs usually adopt phraseology of the Christian religion. This helps to conceal from superficial observers the service of the old religion. Furthermore, the Fijian knows that the average white man scorns his ancient religion and customs and therefore seeks to hide his belief in them. If such Fijians are medicine-men, or, more particularly, if they practice sorcery, they will be still more anxious to conceal both their beliefs and their illegal practices from white men.

(ii) *Fijians Who Synthesize the Old and the New.*

The majority of Fijians are in this category, but often their religion has lost much of its functional value. They attend the Christian services on Sunday, as do many of the medicine-men and sorcerers. During the week in the villages, by ritual and prayer, they invoke the ancestral spirits. In some instances they still conduct Christian family worship. In the more remote areas, if a European missionary visits the village they all attend the Christian service and show interest in the church. Reliable informants believed that in times of stress most of these Fijians would turn to their old religion rather than to Christianity. I found evidence to support this view.

(iii) *Fijian Christians Who Exclude the Old Religion.*

A few Fijians, chiefly those who have had a number of years of Christian religious training and more advanced education than their fellows, appear to have embraced Christianity to the exclusion of old magical beliefs and fears. In some villages those who take this stand are unpopular and require strength of conviction and character to maintain it. This attitude is the outward profession of all church appointees, though some revert to the old practices under circumstances of stress.

(iv) *Fijians Who Reject Both Religions.*

The very few Fijians who seem to have lost belief in all the elements of the old religion and also of the Christian faith[4] have probably had continuous contact with non-religious

[4] In the 1946 Census Report eight male Fijians and one female are recorded as having no religion. One hundred and thirty-nine Fijians objected to state their religion. One hundred and fifty others did not state it. See p. 35.

Europeans. The possibility of these Fijians reverting to their ancestral beliefs in times of stress must not be excluded.

These four types of religious acculturation must not be regarded as well-marked divisions, but as convenient indications of a continuous series in which units of one classification shade over into the next.

The social importance of these religious tendencies lies in their functional value for the cohesion of society. Sanctions of social conduct operate in present-day Fijian syncretized religion. These may be divided into the influence of religious *tabus*, of public opinion, and in some cases the development of Christian ethical principles.

(1) *Religious* tabus *in Modern Fiji.*

Tabus in Fiji operate in three ways. There are the *tabus* still associated with the ancestral and other indigenous spirits, operating through the chief and the medicine-man. There are *tabus* transferred from the old beliefs to the new, and there are *tabus* consequent upon the interpretation of Christianity against the background of the old beliefs.

(i) Tabus *Associated with Ancestral and Other Spirits.*

The general effect of European influences in administration, education and commerce has been to weaken the authority of the chiefs. But it has been government policy to maintain chiefly authority by using hereditary chiefs in government positions wherever possible. In the villages native teachers generally look to the chiefs for patronage. Common people bow before them to do obeisance. In Bauan custom the honorific plural is used when addressing or speaking of a chief. Even those native informants who suggested that administrative authority should be taken from hereditary chiefs and given to others better fitted for the tasks were usually emphatic that chiefs should still be venerated and should take the lead in all matters relating to traditional Fijian ceremony. The chief is the descendant of the original deified ancestor and the expression of Fijian culture. It is *tabu* to raise the head higher than his, to pass behind him, to stand when he enters, to sneeze in his presence, and so on.

But the chief does not usually maintain the personal communications with the spirits of departed ancestors or with Fijian-cult spirits that the medicine-man does. The medicine-man knows what *tabu* has been infringed to cause sickness. Dasi, the medicine-man, told the investigator that Salanieta was ill because her father had cultivated the ground near the shrine of Bulou Vakavuka. Jioti Ravucake pronounced a child cured and when it died a few hours later he said the cause of death was the father's unconfessed infringement of some Fijian *tabu*. Maciu Lewaka, first assistant in the district school, Methodist local preacher, and powerful medicine-man, told the investigator that all sickness was caused by offences against the traditional Fijian culture but that patients could be cured when they confessed to him.

(ii) Tabus *Transferred to Christianity*. In the syncretized religion of to-day these *tabus* of the old religion are transferred to Christianity. For example, Isoa Waka, the native minister at Daviqele was said to have violated a *tabu* because he lighted his house with kerosene that had been bought for the church. For this offence against the Christian Church the spirit named Ravuvoninakabuta caused his death.

(iii) Tabus *Derived from Christianity.* Finally, Christianity is conceived by some as a religion of *tabus*. Sunday in Fiji is called *Siga Tabu* or *Tabu* Day. Some Christians proclaim that they are *tabu tavako*, or that tobacco is *tabu* to them, that they are *tabu yaqona*, or that *kava* is *tabu* to them.

(2) *Sanctions of Public Opinion.*

Public opinion usually operates more powerfully when the old customs are violated than when European or Christian legal or ethical principles are infringed. Meli Vuadreu took Ulamila Nabekasiga to be his wife without either Fijian or European marriage conventions. This action involved the households of Meli and Ulamila in a dispute. When Meli sent Ulamila home after a few weeks and took Lisi Balecakau to be his new wife, it involved two villages in a fierce dispute which was only ended when Meli's village sued very humbly for peace with many whales' teeth. On the other hand, when Osea Nagata had served nine months in gaol for the European offence of theft, his village gave him a feast on his return and the church quarterly meeting made him senior circuit steward because, as the senior native minister said, " He has had a hard time in gaol."

(3) *The Development of Christian Ethical Principles.*

There are rare instances in which Christian religious acculturation appears to have reached an advanced stage. I have known and lived with Fijians whose life and conduct appeared to demonstrate clear perception and practice of genuine Christian principles. It is true that these represent a very small minority, but perhaps they do in some of our own communities.

The syncretization which has been shown to be characteristic of religion is evident in other aspects of present Fijian life. It is in commerce. Elimi Kurusiga, the skilled carpenter, showed me the school he had built at Namalata and the desks he had made. He said that payment for his services would be a *solevu*, or ceremonial exchange of goods. He had given his services as any European building contractor or carpenter would, but payment would be made ceremonially in whales' teeth, native mats, coconut oil, perhaps some pigs, fowls and articles from the Chinese store. The same syncretism is in government as seen in the appointment of hereditary chiefs to positions of responsibility within a British administrative system.

Thus all phases of present-day Fijian life conduce to social change and acculturation with syncretization frequently predominating. Elements of other cultures are assimilated into or rejected from Fijian society according to their novelty, utility or compatibility with Fijian culture. These processes of culture-change involve acceptance and assimilation of new traits, adjustment to them, the elimination of features of the old culture and the trial and possible rejection of elements of new cultures. The results are modifications of personality which are of urgent importance for the administrator and the educationist. They must meet the needs not only of the thousands in centres of mixed population, but of the scores of thousands who still live in a disintegrating village culture.

A. C. Cato.

Oceania: Art. **Schmitz.**

Style Provinces and Style Elements: A Study in Method. *By Carl A. Schmitz, D.Ph., Cologne, Germany.*

This treatise deals with the problem of historical reconstruction among preliterate cultures, especially in the field of art. The main obstacle to any research of this kind is the lack of written sources. This statement seems to be common-place among ethnologists, but already a short glance over the literature on the history of art among Oceanic cultures, which here will be taken as an example, shows that the methodological consequences of the above statement have not always found full consideration.

Research into the history of Oceanic art within the last twenty years has brought forth two main theories which have found their best exponents in Felix Speiser and Robert v. Heine-Geldern. It will be helpful to give a short review of these two theses in order to understand the need for reshaping our methodological instruments in this field of ethnological research.

The famous Swiss Oceanist Speiser published his paper on "Art Styles in Melanesia" in 1936. He distinguishes the following style-groups: Primary-style, Curvilinear-style, Beak-style, Tami-style, Malanggan-style and Korwar-style. The order of the list represents the relative chronology of the groups. I shall give a few further notes so that these styles will become a little more distinct. The Primary-style always shows a pointed face, mostly three- or five-cornered. The Korwar-style and the Tami-style both show the four-cornered face. From the Primary-style there developed, especially in the region of the Sepik and Ramu Rivers, the Curvilinear-style, which itself produced several variants. It seems that the Korwar-style is connected with the motif of the squatting-figure, whilst the motif of the Gorgo appears mostly together with the Curvilinear-style. Speiser seems to find traces of his Korwar-style as far east as Easter Island and wants to connect it in the west with the art of the Khmer Empire. He thinks the Korwar-style to be a bastardized derivation from Khmeric art.[1]

The four-cornered face of the so-called Korwar-style is a very characteristic feature within the sculpture of Oceanic cultures and the Dutch ethnologist Münsterberger[2] has made this trait the subject of a very interesting paper. He corrects Speiser in his terminology and proposes the more general term "four-cornered style" for the somewhat limited conception of Speiser's "Korwar-style."

The Primary-style of Speiser has also been the subject of further investigation by the German ethnologist Damm. He points to the wooden figures found in the West Polynesian outliers Ontong Java, Banks Islands, etc., which show a very marked three-cornered pointed face. Damm wants to connect these wooden figures with the art of the palæ-mongoloid cultures in north-eastern Siberia. This seems to me somewhat speculative, but I recall that Anell, in a recently published study,[3] has shown the main part of the Polynesian fishing implements to be connected with the fishing implements of north-eastern Siberia.

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[1] Speiser, Felix, "Über Kunststile in Melanesian," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 68, 1936, pp. 304–396.

[2] Münsterberger, W., "Over primitieve kunst en over den Korwar-stijl in Indonesie en Oceanie," *Cultureel Indie*, 7, 1945–46, pp. 63–74.

[3] Damm, H., "Sakrale Holzfiguren von den nordwest-polynesischen Randinseln," *Jahrbuch d. stadt. Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig*, 10, 1952, pp. 74–87. Anell, Bengt, "Contribution to the History of Fishing in the Southern Seas," *Studia Ethnographica Upsaliensia*, IX, 1955.

The paper of Speiser, however, has also found followers in another direction. Speiser's conception of art-style is that such an art-style could have developed only once within a certain culture. It can diffuse only together with this culture, therefore the greater part of the style-groups of Speiser has to be understood in a geographical sense. Tami-style on the island of Tami, Malanggan-style in northern New Ireland, Beak- and Curvilinear-style around the Sepik and Ramu Rivers and finally the Korwar-style around Geelvink Bay. The diffusion of these different style groups goes from those geographical areas as central points. Everybody understands that the principle of the culture circle is not far away. On the other side, however, the geographical concept of style-provinces, as it will be defined by this paper, is already touched upon by the " method " of Speiser.

Now this side of ethnological art research has found an exact worked-out method among Africanists and Americanists. I only have to mention the names of such well-known scientists as Vandenhout, Wingert and Olbrechts. To this school also belongs the Dutch ethnologiet Gerbrands, who has worked out a very useful and promising paper on the art provinces sin wstern New Guinea, where he distinguishes three main provinces : Geelvink Bay, Humboldt Bay and South-western New Guinea, with their different sub-areas. As it is this paper of Gerbrands[4] and his method with which I feel the most respectful agreement, I shall postpone a review of his concept until we come to the main discussion of the problem of style-provinces.

If we now turn to the work of the Austrian ethnologist Robert v. Heine-Geldern, we shall find a very different picture. In the beginning, however, I think it just to recall that some of Heine-Geldern's views had already been expressed by Skinner.[5] Heine-Geldern[6] paints his historical reconstruction in a very ingenious and suggestive manner. He embraces—so to speak with one brush—several centuries and nearly half the globe. He firstly states a substratum which stretches from south-eastern Asia over the whole Pacific to America, which he calls the Old-Pacific style. In China, this Old-Pacific style has been fixed around 3000 B.C. The characteristics of this style are : (*a*) the preference for wood and stone work ; (*b*) the vertical arrangement of human and animal figures ; and (*c*) the bilateral representation. This style occurs among the Batak on Sumatra, the Dayak on Borneo, among the Igorots on the Philippines, on New Ireland, and in southern Alaska and British Columbia. The art of the Marquesas Islands seems to Heine-Geldern to preserve the Old-Pacific style in a very pure manner. Around 1800 B.C. there occurred a clash of this Old-Pacific style with the so-called Dnjestro-Danubian style in southern China. This Dnjestro-Danubian style is to be found in south-western Russia, Transylvania, Hungary and in the northern Balkans. Its characteristics are the spiral ornament and the use of bronze instead of wood and stone. This clash resulted in the development of the art of the Shang and Chou Dynasties in China, and in the so-called Dong-Song style in Indochina. These styles diffused over the Malayan Archipelago as well as over the whole Pacific and reached North and Middle America. This diffusion is responsible for the development of several local styles in Oceania. There is no need to repeat the theory of Heine-Geldern in detail. This short outline will be sufficient.

[4] Gerbrands, A. A., " Kunststijlen in West Nieuw Guinea," *Indonesie*, 4, 1950–51, pp. 251–283.

[5] Skinner, H. D., " The Origin and Relationship of Maori Material Culture and Decorative Art," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 32, 1924, pp. 229–243.

[6] Heine-Geldern, R. v., " L'Art préboudique de la Chine et de l'Asie du Sud-Est et son influence en Océanie," *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, 11, facs. 4, Paris, 1937.

The Dutch ethnologist Königswald follows Heine-Geldern in his thesis on the influence of Indonesian art on the art of Oceanic peoples. Königswald[7] states his belief that the diffusion of this Indonesian influence took place along the north coast of New Guinea as well as along the southern passage through the Torres Straits. Coming from the West, this southern Austronesian migration must have reached the tip of south-eastern New Guinea and then have parted in three directions : a southern party made for New Zealand, the main party reached Polynesia via the Solomon Islands, and a northern party sailed for New Ireland. This seems to me a very confusing theory because it contains some proved ideas and some impossibilities. The so-called stylistic comparisons of his theory are not very convincing.

The American ethnologist Ekholm[8] has joined Heine-Geldern in his thesis. Ekholm has worked out the time when the style influences from south-eastern Asia may have reached Meso-America on the western coast of Mexico. This must have been around AD. 700.

The difference between these two sets of theories is easily explained. Speiser said that a style could only diffuse together with the culture which had developed it. Heine-Geldern took the other view and said that a style would diffuse independently and unconnected with any culture whatsoever. Also, in view of the probable time, both theories have nothing in common. Distribution and characteristics of the Old-Pacific style are very similar to those of the Korwar style. For Heine-Geldern, however, the Old-Pacific style is the oldest one. Speiser thinks his Korwar style to be the youngest of them all. The methodological concepts of both scientists are so divergent that I see no sense in trying to correlate both theories. This would result in a labyrinth of hypotheses and would only lead to a series of historical pseudo-problems.

Although Heine-Geldern always speaks of style and stylistic elements, his main arguments are concerned with motifs. The characteristics of Speiser's style-groups show a curious mixture of motifs and stylistic elements. Therefore it seems necessary that before any corrections of the abovementioned theories could be recommended the methodological instruments must be clarified. The relation of the concept " style province " to the concept " style element " must be exactly defined. A critical review of the main theories on the history of Oceanic art has brought us to a very disappointing conclusion. All these researches have been carried out with an immense knowledge of facts and very often also with a sound " historical instinct " exercised by the author, but all of them lacked the exact methodological approach. There is no doubt that both theories are very important contributions to our knowledge, but I feel that both of them have to be restated and thoroughly tested as regards their limits of exactness. I shall, however, put forward a number of reasons which will give the theory of Speiser a somewhat more preferable character.

Style Provinces

For two reasons we have to regard the problem of style provinces first. Style provinces are the first methodological entities which come out of an ethnographical survey of a given

[7] Königswald, G. H. R. v., " Uber Sumatranische Schiffstücher und ihre Beziehungen zur Kunst Ozeaniens," in *Südseestudien*, Basel, 1951, pp. 27–50. " Indonesian Influence in Hawaiian Art," *Bijdr. tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Ned. Indie*, 107, 1951, pp. 346–452.

[8] Ekholm, G. F., " A Possible Focus of Asiatic Influence in the Late Classic Cultures of Mesoamerica," *Memoirs of the Society for American Archæology*, 9, 1953, pp. 72–89.

geographical area. All the other concepts of our methodological analysis are only understandable in relation to the style provinces to which they are applied.

If we regard the method by which Gerbrands has arrived at his style provinces in western New Guinea, we shall see at once that these " provinces " have only a descriptive sense. The method of Gerbrands is characterized by three steps. Firstly he took all the pieces of

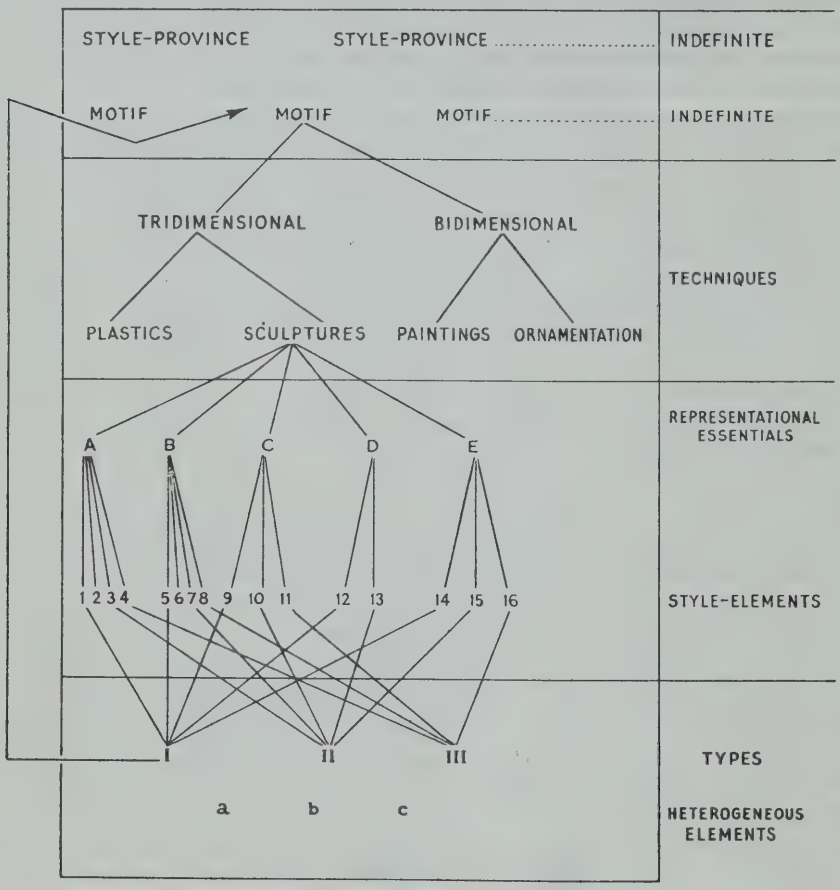


Fig. 1. The Relation of Style-provinces to Style-elements.

art which he used as historical sources out of a well defined geographical area. Secondly he carried out a very thoroughly exercised formal analysis which resulted in the definition of several types ; and finally, he mapped the distribution and density of those types. By this simple formula he came to his well-defined and useful style provinces.

But before this method can work, there are several conditions to be fulfilled. It is necessary that all those pieces of art which the scientist uses as historical sources are exactly

localized. Anybody who has worked in a museum knows what a tremendous task that is. Most museum specimens are labelled by the place of purchase and not by the place of production. And even greater will be the number of those pieces whose labelling has been worked out with a somewhat sweeping broad-mindedness, e.g. mask from Africa, lime spatula from the Pacific, etc. This part of the research goes with the responsibility of all curators in all museums of the whole world.

Then it has to be determined whether all those pieces have been collected at the same time. In case there are differences of more than one generation, these differences have to be accounted for. And finally the question arises whether all those pieces, here used as sources, still belonged to the culture where they were collected or if they were already museum pieces *in situ*.

Given the case that all these questions could be answered in a positive sense, what does the style province then mean to the historian? It represents the situation at the time of collecting—and nothing more!

The term "style province" by minimal definition means that in a given geographical area a certain form of art work prevails. The problem of the ethnic constituents of that area and consequently the problem of the ethnic parentage of this style has not yet arisen. Therefore a style province which has been worked out by the above explained method can only be named by a geographical term.

Now we must confess that we are far away from the point where the whole Pacific could be divided into a series of such style provinces. But even then, after the completion of such an extensive programme, we should not have reached an historical depth of more than one generation. We should never forget that these style provinces only represent the time of collecting. Any attempt to arrange a number of style provinces along a line of time would be a fatal offence against the method employed. Thls, by the way, is the fundamental error of the "Kulturkreis school."

Let me return for a moment to the style groups of Speiser. I do not think that a continuation of the work of Gerbrands will abolish the style provinces of Speiser entirely. Their definition will be improved. This is a compliment which one has to pay to the great Swiss Oceanist. But this is also the point where some remarks critical of the system of Speiser might be put forward. He acts against a rule of logic. He changes his principles of classifications before completing the whole system. His concepts of the Tami style, the Malanggan style, the Korwar style and even the Beak style are nothing else than true style provinces in their geographical meaning. But his concept of the Primary style does not belong to the dimension of space but to that of time. The former are descriptive concepts, the latter is an analysing historical concept.

Also as regards the Korwar-style Speiser again left his conceptual scheme. He tried to prove the occurrence of the Korwar style, which is a clearly-defined local style, over the whole Pacific. This lack of methodological exactness in the system of Speiser makes his whole treatise not as useful as it deserves to be. But I think this will be sufficient for the moment in our discussion of Speiser.

Let us now see what problems arise from our concept of the style province. As far as I can see it there are two problems to be solved. How did the style province develop, and how does it diffuse? As I do not intend to deal with the second question, I may be allowed

to make a few remarks on this problem first. If we remember the axiom of Speiser that a style could only diffuse together with the culture which had developed it, we understand at once that this applies to the general diffusion of style provinces. There is no doubt that the distribution of the characteristic works of art of a certain style province beyond the parental realm representr true historical relations. But there are differences in intensity which mean that those historical relations, indicated by the distribution of certain art traits, have different values for the specific societies. Only if an art work appears in the same functional environment can we speak of true diffusion. But this fundamental is not always fulfilled. The loss of a certain style is not seldom due to the fact that the original function of the artefact, the cause of its coming into being, has been discontinued or an artefact has been taken over by a society which cannot offer that function.

We now turn to our first problem of how style provinces arise. All those descriptive style provinces are constituted by a number of traits of different age. Our aim shall be to disentangle the complex system of integrated traits. Therefore we have to break up the style provinces into their constituents in order to find the last divisible entity—the true style element. The distribution of style elements then will be the last possible historical source.

The Motif

Here I have to state an axiom which until now I have not spoken of. Art is representation. Every piece of art represents something. It expresses an original feeling, emotion, thought or simple decoration. This is the fundamental function of art. If there is one way in which we can dissect a style province, then it will be in accordance with the feelings, emotions, thoughts or decorations which have found their representation in the art of that province. Here I postulate : a style province is constituted in the first line by the motifs which find their representation in it. The motif connects the art of a society with the " superorganic " of its culture.

A motif of art is originally a simple picture or mostly a symbol which stands for a certain complexity of ideas, beliefs and behaviour patterns. After such a symbol has been accepted by a society it can be taken over by the art of that society and even more, it will become a psychic agent, a stimulus, for the art of that society. A symbol which has found its way into the art of a culture must be spoken of as a motif of that art. Only after a symbol has become a motif will some deformations of the original symbol occur which have no relation to its meaning but belong to the laws of art. The problem of these deformations will be dealt with later when it can be more easily understood. We will leave the subject for a time.

A motif is not related to a single style province. Its distribution goes through a number of provinces. Theoretically we have to suppose the possible number of motifs and style provinces to be indefinite. The relation of style provinces and motifs is thus that a certain province selects a given number of motifs and represents them in its art. The determinants of this selection are fundamentally irrelevant to art. These determinants are mostly religious and ritual, social and behaviouristic needs.

Now we understand that any attempt to reconstruct the history of art of a given culture or a number of cultures with the help of the distributions of motifs alone is fallacious. Such an attempt begins as research in the history of art and ends perhaps as an essay on the history

of religion. This is a point where I want to make a critical remark against the theories of Heine-Geldern. His list of resemblances between south-eastern Asia and Meso-America only contains motifs. In this connection it may be recalled that both Heine-Geldern and Heyerdahl use partly the same motifs to prove their contrasting theories. But a motive can find its representation in different forms and the occurrence of one motive on different places does not say anything about the possible migration of a style. The remark against Heine-Geldern does not mean that the relations pointed out by him did not exist. This remark only limits the relations to a number of equal motifs. And I might thus put forward the suggestion that those relations point more to similar ideas but not to a migration of styles over the whole Pacific.

If we want to explore the history of art within a certain culture we have to solve three problems first. The whole area of that culture must be subdivided into exact style provinces. Then a list of all the motifs of this cultural area must be drawn up. And finally we have to find out how the motifs are divided among the different style provinces of our cultural area. But as we already know, motifs can be represented by very different stylistic element and in different techniques. Therefore the picture drawn up in the way as proposed above does not show us the historical development but it only gives us—so to speak—the raw material for our further historical analysis. The distribution of motifs indicates the occurrence of similar ideas, thoughts and behaviour patterns. It must not necessarily have an historical meaning at all, and seldom has!

The Techniques

A single motif can be represented with the help of different techniques. The representation of a motif is given definite limits by the character of the several techniques. All these techniques have their own history and their own rules. For historical reconstruction they have to be kept apart. After having drawn up the distributional network of provinces and their motifs, the next step in our historical research will be to account for the representation of a single motif in the different possible techniques.

In all descriptions of style provinces usually works of painting, sculpture and plastics and decorative art are summarized, and the author tries to articulate the general characteristic of them all. I think that here literary ambition has overruled methodological exactness. On this point, however, a terminological remark might be made. All works of art which have been produced by cutting should be termed "sculptures" and all those which have been produced by moulding should be termed "plastics."

Sculpture and plastics are three-dimensional. Painting and decorative art are bi-dimensional. This difference seems to me fundamental, because the possibilities of development must be grouped under these two categories. The historian of art knows that the history of sculpture and the history of painting do not have the same rhythm. And what applies to the general history of art must also apply to ethnological art research.

Within a system of analytical style groups these differences must be accounted for. With a system of descriptive style provinces, as with Speiser, perhaps, the matter is a little different. It is possible that a certain province is characterized by the preference for one technique. The Curvilinear style of Speiser is definitely bi-dimensional, whilst the Korwar

style can only occur in three dimensions. But even Speiser did not always keep the several techniques apart as he should have done.

For the definition of a style province all the occurring motifs have to be listed, however, classified by the several techniques. Our further research then can only deal with one single motif in one specific technique.

The Representational Essentials

The breaking-down of one motif into representational essentials and later into style elements has to be carried out in an inductive manner. There cannot be more representational essentials and elements than really occur. On the other side, the dissecting has to follow the rules of conceptualizing. The particular concepts are not allowed to overlap one another. But their distribution has to be recorded without any principle of selection. If contrasted with the motif, which always has a meaning, the representational essentials and elements are meaningless. Only several of them together can express one motif.

A motif needs for its representation a certain set of representational essentials. For example we can classify on the motif of the human face the following essentials : the eyes, ears, nose, mouth, forehead, chin, outline and surface. In case an essential element in this set is lacking, the particular motif will be represented incompletely. But this does not always mean that an incompletely represented motif will become unrecognizable. The distribution of a set of representational essentials conforms, of course, with the distribution of that motif, and therefore, it is of no particular meaning for the historical analysis. On the other side, however, the classification of representational essentials of one motif is a conceptual presupposition.

This is the point where we should revert to a remark which has already been mentioned earlier. We are now able to say something more definite on the problem of deformation of motifs. Such a deformation can go in two directions : simplification and augmentation. Simplification means omitting necessary representational essentials which eventually leads to the limits of intelligibility. On the other side augmentation means an addition of represational essentials beyond the scheme of necessity. The determinant of those mechanics is always the specific intention of a style. Therefore, the mechanics of deformation have to be mentioned with the characteristics of a style province. On the other side, however, concepts such as abstraction, stylization, fantastic style, naturalistic style, etc., are absolutely meaningless for historical reconstruction. We do not possess a general cross-cultural basis to which these concepts can be related. They are terms for morphological delectation and party conversation but not for scientific research. We shall take up the subject of deformation again at the end of our next point.

Style Elements

Now we are able to define what style elements really could be. We have dissected a style province into its motifs, then we have taken one motif in one particular technique and have classified the necessary representational essentials. And now we can postulate that each representational essential occurs in several variants. Each variant has a meaning only in connection with its representational essential. But this variant is the last divisible entity we can come to. It is the true element.

A motif, which needs for its representation, e.g., six parts, will always show at least six variants, i.e. elements. These six elements together represent the motif in an intelligible way.

But we have to recall that the subdividing of a motif into elements has always to take place in an inductive manner. The classification of style elements in connection with a particular motif has its limits where an element has no function within the whole of the motif. A motif will not be constructed by mathematical addition of elements but by intended construction. All classification of elements which goes beyond the realm of meaning has lost its usefulness. Therefore I shall try to group the variations of representational essentials into three main classes: (*a*) as regards the form; (*b*) as regards the proportions; (*c*) as regards the structural value.

Thus the ideal pattern would be that each motif occurs in the first line in a set of representational essentials. But this set varies according to the building of elements, and each part of the whole set must be characterized by three variants together. A motif of six essentials appears, therefore, with 18 elements. This, of course, is an optimal definition. Variations of this scheme occur in both directions.

There is always a fixed point when we recognize a style element. The motif whose variations occur in the development of the different style elements is always given. In this connection we have to speak of a motif as of a picture whose exact representation is nothing more than pure naturalism. All variations are only recognizable in connection with this original picture. This is a somewhat unusual meaning of the term "naturalism." I do not use such terms in their emotional meaning but in their conceptual sense. A naturalistic representation always bears the question as to what natural source this representation derived from. And therefore the original picture, even being itself a highly conventionalized symbol, is in its exact representation a piece of naturalistic craftsmanship. All variations of a motif are to be valued only in relation to this basic picture.

Here we can pick up again our discussion on the deformation of motifs which we left at the end of the foregoing point. Simplification and augmentation can occur also as regards the form, the proportions and the structural value of a representational essential. It is easily understood that this is a somewhat different process than the simple omission or addition of representational essentials. I propose to speak about the particular cases as of a gross and a detailed deformation.

The classification of style elements in relation to a set of representational essentials is a very difficult task. The rules of inductive science are to be applied with the utmost care. I personally think it impossible to give a general methodological formula. We have now reached a point where we must confess that we cannot press a living culture entirely into static concepts. Our analysis of style provinces and style elements has minimized this difficulty to a certain extent, but we cannot fully abolish this obstacle. We have to find an optimum between a too broad-minded classification and a too-detailed dismemberment of our object.

The method which I have put forward in this paper demands that the distribution of the style elements has to be recorded without any selection. Within the distribution of one motif all the elements have their own distribution. And this distributional net we must discern!

The Types

Certain combinations of elements will occur more often than others. Frequently they appear within a certain culture complex, and therefore indicate the most definite historical relations. Those combinations of style elements we shall call the types of our motifs, because each type represents a form of the motif.

But besides these types we shall, of course, find a number of elements which do not regularly occur integrated into types, but whose distribution seems to have a more accidental character. We call them heterogeneous elements. Behind these heterogeneous elements there are hidden the most important historical problems. But only with the method proposed here we shall detect those indicators at all. Otherwise they disappear behind the bombast of morphological delectation.

Conclusions

The distribution of types and the distribution of heterogeneous elements is the last possible historical source for the ethnological art research. We find these distributions by the statistical evaluation of the distribution of style elements. I do not intend to speak in this paper on the problems of statistical evaluation, and therefore a simple mention of the necessary method may be sufficient for the moment.

I intended to show the relation between style provinces and style elements, because we firstly need a conceptual scheme to find our way to true historical sources. Our first step must be to work out the set of style provinces within the cultural area in question. A style province, however, is constituted by traits of very different age. Therefore we must try to discern the distributional network of motifs and their elements which lies under the integrated styles of our cultural area. The historical process must be understood thus, that always in its birth-hour a style evolves out of that network and becomes conventionalized and goes into the dimension of time. Of course, we seldom have a convincing source as to the exact time of this event. Otherwise the distribution of elements in our cultural area represents an exact historical source, because the entities are not further divisible. That means there are no further historical events prior to them possible. They are definitely of one age.

The distribution of these elements and types has a historical meaning as to the basic stratum out of which the local style provinces have become integrated. This stratum shows us the basic picture of the motif out of which the types of the different style provinces have evolved either by deformation or by combining influences of other style provinces of different ages.

So we have postulated a very extensive programme of research. First of all we need style provinces, which all have to be developed by the same method. Then a number of parallel researches will follow, each of them engaged with a particulor motif in one particular technique. And after all the motifs of our cultural area have been dealt with by our method, we shall have the most reliable picture of the history of art in our cultural area. This is a tremendous task, which has nothing to do with all those æsthetical essays on the curious art of the so-called savages. All those treatises on the archaic backgrounds of the art of the "barbarians" prevent the perception of the historical truth. They are to be excluded from the science of ethnological art research!

C. A. Schmitz.

PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES:

The State of Anthropology in Post-War Germany. *Summary of an address delivered by Dr. A. Lommel before the Anthropological Society of South Australia on April 6th,* 1955.

Dr. Lommel gave an account of the status of anthropological science in Germany in the years since the war. He reported first on his museum in Munich. There is no Professor of Anthropology in the University at Munich, but the Director of the Museum, Professor Doering, who is a specialist on South American anthropology, teaches there. The emphasis therefore is on South American problems. The Museum itself is particularly interested in the exotic arts of primitive peoples of the South Pacific and Africa and has large collections also of art objects from China, Japan and the archæological cultures of Peru. Much of the Museum was destroyed by bombing during the War, but the collections were safely housed elsewhere. They are still packed away in cases so that exhibitions of short duration only are possible in those portions of the Museum which have been repaired since the War. Much interest has been created by these exhibitions, and some funds have been available for both research and the reconstruction of the Museum.

In Stuttgart there is a very fine museum which has specialized in the anthropology of the South-west Pacific, particularly New Ireland, New Britain and New Guinea and West Africa. The Stuttgart Museum is supported by the City Council and has had some difficulties in obtaining finance for its reconstruction since City Fathers are notoriously deaf when money is mentioned. The Museum at Munich is better off, since it is supported by the State. Nevertheless Stuttgart has renewed publishing, and there is evidence of healthy progress there.

At Heidelberg there is a small museum of which the Director, Dr. Herrmann, is both director, caretaker and general supervisor, nevertheless he is a prolific writer, publishing much of interest on the art of primitive peoples.

Mannheim Museum was totally destroyed, but has found a home in a new building and houses a good, if small, collection of the anthropology of the South Seas.

Frankfurt-on-Main is the focus of anthropology in Germany to-day. The Museum itself was destroyed but the principal parts of the Museum collection were saved through having been evacuated to the country. There is no display space either at what remains of the Museum or at the Frobenius Institute. At the Frobenius Institute, under Professor Jensen, progress is being made on the gathering of data to test the Kultur Kreis theories of Frobenius and the kindred ones of Father Schmidt, but the new emphasis is on the accumulation of data rather than on the extracting of information to separate the original theories put forward by these men. Professor Jensen himself is known for work on Indonesia and Africa. At the University at Frankfurt there are three teachers of anthropology. The anthropological journal *Paideuma* is published there.

The University of Mainz is virtually an offshoot of Frankfurt, which has no collections but has done much work on Shamanism. Professor Friedrich is also particularly interested in the life of Hill tribes in various parts of the world.

The journal *Zeitschreft fur Ethnologie* has resumed publication at Braunschweig, so that there are now three publications on anthropology in Germany, of which the *Zeitschreft* and *Paideuma* are the most important; the third one is *Saeculum*.

At Bonn University there is a Professor Trimborn, whose interests are largely in American anthropology, and they pay particular attention to the linguistics of South America and old documents in Spanish about South America.

Göttingen is noted because it has part of the Captain Cook collections which came from the Pacific through the link with Forster, who accompanied Captain Cook on his voyages. Göttingen has two anthropologists and has become in recent years the centre for the accumulation and distribution of anthropological films. They are developing extensive collections, which are sent out on request to all parts of Germany.

At Köln the museum is very good, concentrating strongly on African material.

At Bremen the museum is in a seaport town. There is some anthropological teaching, but the collections have been largely built up from donations from sailors who in the early days brought back material from all parts of the world. It is a general museum supported by the town authorities because the city is small and there is little other cultural background. The museum is assisted through the pride of its citizens in their museum.

Hamburg is one of the largest museums in Germany. It was almost entirely destroyed by bombing during the war, but much of it has been reconstructed. Collections were lost but there are still extensive collections from the South Seas and from South America which are being displayed. They also have much material illustrating European archæology. Unfortunately, a large part of their collections were lost because they were evacuated to eastern Germany. Other parts which were retained locally have been recovered.

Berlin is facing difficult problems ; the museum itself was destroyed and the collections were evacuated. Those which were taken eastward were lost at the end of the war, those taken west have been saved, but because of the difficult position of Berlin as an outlier of western Germany, inside eastern Germany there has been much reluctance to send back the collections. In Berlin the Western University, under the late Dr. Thurnwald, was teaching anthropology. At the University in the eastern part of Berlin a form of Marxistic anthropology is also being propounded. The eastern University has no collections.

In general, little is known about the fate of anthropological museums in eastern Germany. The museum at Leipzig is reported to be safe. Extensive funds have been given for the reconstruction of museums and libraries in eastern Germany, but unwieldy systems of purchasing and grave shortages in supply have not enabled these funds to be utilized to any advantage.

In the German-speaking part of Switzerland there is an excellent museum at Basel which contains excellent collections from the South Seas. Its Director, Dr. Buhler, is a specialist in native weaving and in the cultures of Indonesia. In Zurich the University has fine collections also, and the Professor is a specialist on Indonesia. There is a second museum in Zurich which concentrates on the art of primitive peoples and exotic art only.

The museum in Geneva is good and has a good general collection. The museum at Neuenburg is in a small town only but it has good specialist collections relating to the Tuareg people of North Africa. They conduct many expeditions there.

One of the most interesting places in Switzerland is Posieus (Freiburg), where the Anthropos-Institut, which was evacuated from Austria, has set up its establishment. Much of their library has been rescued from Austria, and they maintain experts for each area of the

world in which primitive peoples exist. It is an experience to go through. One is welcomed, interrogated in great detail about one's researches, and receives much help.

In Vienna, Austria, things are not so happy. The Vienna Museum is still much disorganized. One-third of the buildings are occupied by Russians, one-third by a hospital, and the rest by the museum. Nothing was evacuated during the war, but there are three underground floors beneath the museum where the collections were housed. Unfortunately in the damp they are rotting away ; one has the sense of being knee deep in valuable ethnological material which is not being adequately cared for.

Dr. Heine-Geldern has returned to Vienna from the United States and is attempting to concentrate on the problem of Asiatic influences in the Americas. He has very elaborate data and at a recent science congress it was of much interest to hear him demolishing the theories of Heyerdahl on this subject. Dr. Haeckel is making detailed studies on totemism but is finding difficulties publishing some of his works and they are still only available in cyclostyled form.

One of the most interesting things about Vienna is the opportunity to obtain Russian literature on anthropology which is unavailable elsewhere. One professor is engaged in translating such works and distributing them to western researchers. He has no funds to maintain him but is able to make some progress.

It is noteworthy that there is considerable retreat to studies in archæology by leading anthropologists in Russia. Most of their work is concerned with Central Asia. They have only limited knowledge of other parts of the world. The aforementioned professor found that they were particularly interested in the question of early Russian exploration of the Pacific Ocean by Russian whalers and were also interested in the collections and researches made by Miklucho-MacLeay, who was one of the early anthropological explorers of New Guinea.

Viewing the progress of German anthropology as a whole, it would appear that there has been a revolt against too particular adherence to the theories of Father Schmidt and Dr. Frobenius. Much that they held dear has been abandoned. To-day the emphasis is on the gathering of many more facts leaving theory to the future. This is particularly noticeable at Frankfurt-on-Main.

Much work goes into rebuilding the museums and trying to make the public aware of their responsibilities towards them. Progress is being made. There will soon be a Professor of Anthropology at Munich. A very fortunate circumstance is that anthropology has succeeded in obtaining a share of the funds allotted for the rehabilitation of science in Germany ; these funds have come in part from German industry and in part from the United States. The destruction of the museums has led to numerous expeditions being sent to all parts of the world to obtain replacement material. There are two expedtiions in Australia at the present time, namely those of Drs. Petri and Lommel. There are several in India studying both the South Indians and the people of Assam, and one in Pakistan. In Africa there are expeditions in Abyssinia, Madagascar, Angola and the Congo, the last named area being studied from Mainz. There is a tendency to concentrate on research in the Americas because American funds are most readily obtained for studies in the western hemisphere. The lure of this money causes students to focus their attention on American studies. This is helped also by the vast number of cultural and anthropological volumes which came into Germany after the war when the local publishing facilities were utterly

destroyed. In this way most university students have learned English sufficiently well to read fluently even if they cannot speak English. This has had a marked influence in directing thoughts of anthropological workers in western Germany.

Report of a Meeting of the Australian Anthropological Association, 1955. *Summary of the proceedings of a meeting of the Association held on August 23rd, 1955, in Melbourne.*

During the A.N.Z.A.A.S. Conference in Melbourne a meeting of interstate delegates was held to discuss matters of common interest in the field of anthropology.

Dr. T. D. Campbell, Mr. N. Tindale and Mr. Dick represented the South Australian Anthropological Society, Victoria being represented by the Committee of the Victorian Society. The absence of delegates from N.S.W. and Queensland was noted with regret. An apology was subsequently received from the Queensland Society.

At the invitation of the Victorian Committee, Mr. Frank Ellis, of the Queen Victoria Museum, Launceston, Tasmania, attended the meeting. Owing to the absence of the N.S.W. and Queensland delegates the meeting was informal, Dr. R. M. Wishart occupying the chair.

The following matters were discussed:

1. Accurate mapping of camp sites.
2. Systematic collecting.
3. Radio-active charcoal.
4. Arousing interest in anthropology.

Numbers 1 and 2 were discussed together. Dr. Campbell suggested that to obviate indiscriminate collecting on camp sites the card system as used in South Australia be adopted. As explained by Mr. Tindale, intending collectors are issued with cards provided by the South Australian Museum. Upon the discovery of a new site, or collecting on known sites, all implements found are listed on the card, together with a description and the location of the site. The cards are then returned to the museum, where they are recorded and filed. All cards dealing with the same camp site are filed together. Mr. Tindale offered to forward to affiliated societies a sample of the card used by the South Australian Museum, as a guide to societies in printing their own cards. The benefits of a standard card throughout Australia is obvious. In this regard Dr. Campbell moved, and Mr. S. R. Mitchell seconded, that "steps be taken to adopt a system of recording camp sites and collecting specimens, such system to be common to all affiliated societies." Carried.

With regard to the dating of camp sites by the radio-active charcoal method, it was stated that specimens had to be sent to the U.S.A., thereby causing some delay in receiving and assessing the results. This could not be overcome until facilities were available in Australia to conduct these tests.

The question of arousing interest in anthropology was discussed and many suggestions put forward. As this matter is vital to the continuance of all Australian anthropological societies, any helpful suggestions in this regard are very welcome. The most promising comes from Mr. F. Ellis, who stated that in Tasmania the most fruitful source of new members was in the Adult Education Groups, and he instanced the number of members enrolled from these sources. This entails the inclusion of the subject of anthropology in the Adult Education Syllabus, and a panel of speakers drawn from members of the anthropological societies.

Annual Report of the Anthropological Society of Queensland, 1955. *Summary of the report delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Society.*

Your committee has pleasure in submitting the Sixth Annual Report, for the year ending March 31st, 1955.

This year has again been a profitable one for members, as an interesting series of meetings has been held. These included a series of lectures thus :

" Early European Contacts with the Aborigines of Australia," by Professor F. W. Robinson.
" Archæology and Ethnology in the U.S.A.," by Miss Caroline Fix.
" The Development of the Native Peoples of Papua and New Guinea," by Col. J. K. Murray.
" Aboriginal Magic," by Mr. R. Rose.
" The Natives of the Forest River, Western Australia," by Rev. Coaldrake.
" The Manners and Customs of Adam with Arrows," by Sir Raphael Cilento.
" The Early Exploration of New Guinea," by Mr. Ivan Champion.

Average attendance at the meetings has been about 15. No official excursions have been held during the year, but as usual individual members have inspected sites and reported their findings to the committee. Delegates from your committee in the persons of Professor Robinson and the Hon. Secretary, together with delegates from the Field Naturalists' Club, were present at a meeting called to inspect the Bora Ring at Burleigh. Here a portion of the reserve had been requested by the Returned Servicemen for a site for a club room, and interested bodies were concerned with the preservation of the Bora Ring.

Professor Robinson has prepared a plan showing what could be done with the reserve, and it seems that a solution suitable to all parties and one that protects the site is possible. We particularly record the good work done by Land Commissioner Hickey in preserving the Aboriginal significance of the reserve for all time.

The interest of the Returned Servicemen's delegates in keeping and maintaining the site was a feature of the gathering. Since then Professor Robinson has addressed a fuller meeting in the district on the subject of Bora rings, particularly mentioning the one at Burleigh.

To foster practical interest in the subjects of ethnology and anthropology, Dr. Winterbotham has suggested that individual members prepare papers for one meeting on some selected subject, e.g. shields, spears, clubs, canoes, etc. We are glad to report that several members have agreed to assist in this way.

At meetings, additions to the collections have been exhibited and we thank the many friends who have made these valuable donations. During the year we have received publicity from the Press, when they have from time to time illustrated or reported on interesting items. This helps us make fresh contacts and thus adds additional items to the collections. Permanent storage for the material donated to the anthropological collection of the University of Queensland is not yet possible, but it is hoped this matter will be finalized during this coming year.

We have continued to send out a precis of meetings to all members, and trust we can continue to do so in the future. It would be appreciated if members would advise their interest in such preces.

At the latter part of the last year Mr. J. Johnston, our Hon. Treasurer since the Society's beginning, was transferred to Cairns, and the Society felt the loss of this active member keenly. Mr. R. Mason agreed to act as Hon. Treasurer *pro tem.*, and we express our thanks to this member.

We record with sorrow the loss by death of two valued members in the persons of Mr. B. T. de Conlay and Mr. L. C. Ball.

Annual Report of the Anthropological Society of Queensland, 1956. *Summary of the report delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Society.*

Your committee has pleasure in submitting the Seventh Annual Report for the year ending March 31st, 1956.

An interesting and instructive series of lectures has been given to the members during the year, and the following is a list of titles. Mr. Ivan Champion being available during February for a lecture, a special meeting was called for the purpose of hearing him.

February : " The First Crossing of New Guinea," Mr. Ivan Champion.
March : Presidential Address—" New Sidelights on Some Queensland Native Customs.
April : Members' Night with Exhibits and Notes.
June : " The New Guinea Territory and the People of the Sepik, Purari and Fly Deltas," Mr. Ivan Champion.
July : " Burma and the Burmese," Mr. Leakey.
August : Colour film on the Colorado Grand Canyon by courtesy of the Vacuum Oil Company, and an address on " The Wik and Itti Tribes of North Queensland," by Dr. L. P. Winterbotham. This address was originally given at A.N.Z.A.A.S. Sydney meeting.
September : " The Boomerang," Mr. R. Mason.
October : Research done by Miss Elsie Harwood of the Psychology Department of the University of Queensland at Woodenbong Aboriginal Settlement.
November : " The Story of the Stick," Mr. F. S. Colliver.

Average attendance at the meetings has been about 20, but we record a complete wash-out of one meeting due to bad weather.

No official excursions were held during the year, but a party visited Toorbul Point in connection with the preservation of the Bora Ring there. The local Rotary Club was interested in this matter, and the combined party inspected the site.

The suggestion that members take a practical interest in ethnology and anthropology by giving a paper on a selected subject, as mentioned in the last annual report, showed results this year, when two such papers were given by Mr. Mason and Mr. Colliver. It is hoped that this coming year will see other members take part in this way.

At the meetings additions to the collections have been tabled and some interesting items commented on ; however, it is felt that, here too, individual members could take part in bringing before the meeting items of interest.

We hope that reasonable storage space will be available at the University in the near future for the still growing collections.

We have been interested in the natives of Australia and their welfare in general and have added our protests to others in interstate matters when the need arose.

We have also been interested in the Journal MANKIND, with a view to making it even more valuable to our members.

A possible expedition to the Cameron Ranges to seek Aboriginal relics was suggested by a member of a Tasmanian museum, and members interested were invited to discuss the matter with him.

During the year two of our committeemen have gone overseas: Professor Wilkinson on a short trip, and Professor F. W. Robinson, who expects to be away a full year. To these members our good wishes were expressed, and we hope they will have a happy and interesting time whilst they are away and will return to us with stories to tell at future meetings.

The final meeting of the year was marked by supper, provided by the President, and those who attended greatly appreciated this gesture—a fitting close to the old year.

REVIEWS:

Changing Melanesia: Social Economics of Culture Contact. *By C. S. Belshaw, M.A., Ph.D. O.U.P., Melbourne.* 1954. 197 *pp.*, 3 *maps.* 17*s.* 6*d.*

This book " is an account of the society of Eastern Melanesia—that is, the three colonies of New Caledonia, the New Hebrides and the British Solomon Islands—as it has developed as a result of contact with the Western cash economy. It deals with a society at a primitive colonial stage, at which the governments concerned have made little attempt to develop the inherent possibilities of advancing the commercial status of the indigenous people. But the people have changed and it is instructive to follow the paths of their changes and to explore the nature of the advance, if advance it be." So says the author on page one of chapter one, and he immediately proceeds to conduct the reader behind the economic scenes as he has never before been conducted by any student of modern Melanesian society.

Dr. Belshaw is an economist as well as an anthropologist, and he has also served for several years in the colonial service of the British Solomon Islands. He therefore has somewhat unique qualifications for the task of analysing the social economic pressures to which the modern Melanesian has been subject and of offering a theory in explanation of his acceptance of change.

It is impossible to do justice to this excellent book in a short review. Although primarily an academic study, the work is and must be of primary importance to any administrative official saddled with the task of developing these " under-developed " areas of the Pacific. It is so obviously the work of an economist with a thoroughly sound theoretical knowledge of his discipline as well as that of a social anthropologist with a real understanding of the people concerned. Against a preliminary background of early Melanesian society which perforce is highly simplified but nevertheless represents a fairly adequate synthesis of the documentary evidence, the author proceeds to deal with the changes which have been wrought in native society over the last eighty or ninety years. He tries to define the kind of monetary economy with which our Melanesian neighbours came into contact, and emphasizes the fact that it is a different kind of economy to the highly industrialized capitalism of the West.

He outlines in fairly specific terms the commercial relations which existed and do exist between the Melanesians and the outside world. The economic and social effect of missionary activity is given careful consideration and the important point is made that from the native angle the advent of the missionaries meant no more than an opportunity to acquire certain very desirable material possessions.

Such chapter headings as " Alterations in Preferences," " Land, Labour and Capital," " Property and Organization," " Production and Exchange " and " Social Change in Theory " indicate the type of problems discussed. In the final chapter the author sums up what he thinks about some of the changes which have taken place. It is, for the general reader, the most interesting and enlightening part of the book.

The work as a whole is an admirable piece of scholarship supported by well documented appendices and a good index. It is a pioneering piece of research in a field which badly needs cultivating, and many of us are indebted to the author and to those organizations by whose aid he was able to publish this book. One note of warning—it deals with Eastern Melanesia only, and many of its conclusions would not be valid with regard to other parts of Melanesia.

F. L. S. Bell.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES AND NEWS:

A Layman Appeals for Help.

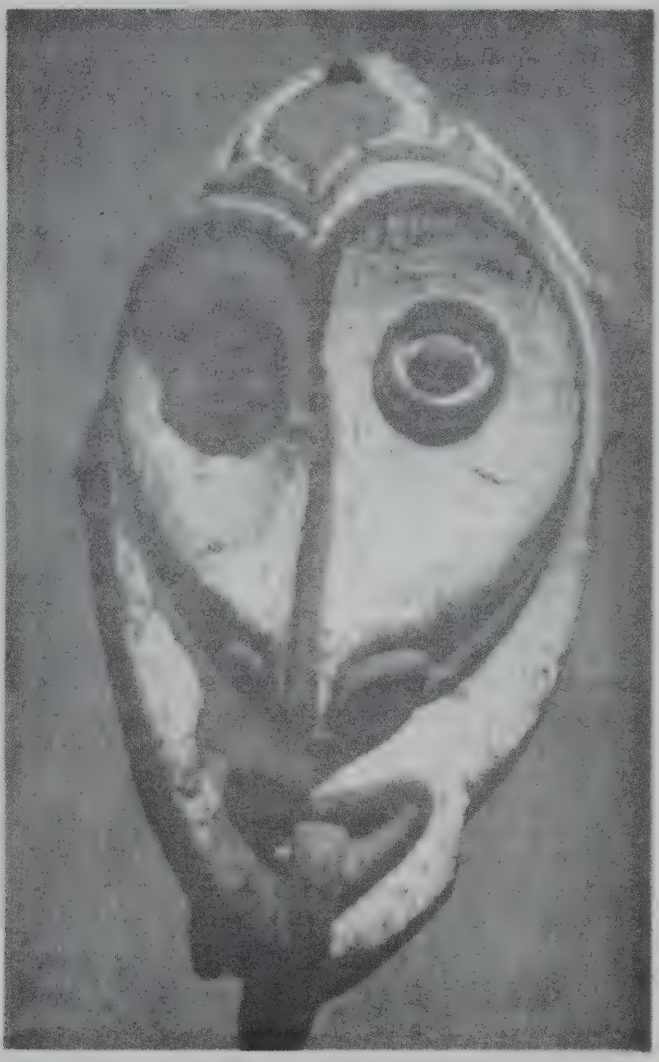
Sir,

May I suggest a plan that would serve on the one hand to provide regular and informative contributions to our journal and on the other provide an essential service to lay members living in areas where opportunities for field work abound but reference library facilities are hopelessly inadequate.

In my own case, for example, I am stationed at Katherine, N.T., where I have gathered a large collection of material, notes and ideas which cannot be developed in the absence of adequate references. I feel certain that many of my doubts could be cleared if aired in our publication, and no doubt this would be informative to many readers. Mankind could be a clearing house and a pool of information for laymen who could contribute much in the way of small new ideas and provide corroborative evidence for the established ones. A section devoted to the lively exchange of ideas and information would stimulate a more active interest in the majority of members who cannot contribute large complete works but who have a lot of little bits of information and ideas that could be developed.

My own immediate needs are listed below, and I would welcome information from any member.

1. Subincision: I have been shown the Dreaming places and have been told the legend of subincision. I have the ritualistic knife that was used in the First time. The only references I know of are very vague on the reasons for subincision, the emphasis being on the fact that it is not an effective method of birth control. The local belief sounds to me like soothing salve for an unpleasant necessity, so I worked on a hypothesis and obtained far more realistic information, supported by material evidence. The question now is, where can I find a summary of our knowledge on the subject? I feel that someone must have reviewed the subject and could answer my queries offhand. They are simply a list of reasons



A MASK FROM MT. HAGEN, NEW GUINEA

put forward for the practise of subincision and the range of variation which exists in the location of the actual incision, particularly whether it is fore or aft of the scrotum. This information will determine whether the hypothesis I have is new or old and it can be treated accordingly.

2. Paintings in inaccessible situations: It appears that there are at least some professional workers puzzled by the location of some rock paintings on inaccessible faces. Is this general and worth clarifying, or is it already known how and why paintings are placed in such situations?

This proposal may seem too much, but since anthropology does depend to some extent upon laymen, the Society should provide this service for field workers in isolated regions. I, personally, would welcome advice and direction from fellow members in order to make the best of the opportunities available at Katherine.

W. ARNDT.

C.S.I.R.O. Research Station,
Katherine, N.T.,
March, 1956.

The Origin of a Torres Straits Island Tune.

Sir,

In 1948 I was appointed Headmaster at St. Paul's Mission School, Moa Island. One of the first facts which struck my attention was the musicality of the Torres Straits Islanders: even children are able to extemporize a second part to a given tune. And the native hymns, which are sung in two parts, are outstanding in beauty. Although many of them have developed out of European hymn tunes, they have undergone so many alterations that they may now be called the spiritual property of the Islanders.

At the beginning of 1949 the teaching staff decided to start a four-part school choir. It was conducted by the headmaster. He took the sopranos and altos on Wednesdays before lunch recess; the tenors and basses on Thursdays; the whole choir on Fridays, at the same time. As the first attempt proved to be satisfactory, the work was continued, and at the end of the school year a school concert was given at Thursday Island, before more than 500 people. It consisted mostly of hymns and harmonized folk tunes. Both listeners and press commented favourably on it.

During the following year the number of school children increased greatly. As, correspondingly, the school choir rose from 35 to 50, more difficult works could be tackled. The next concert programme contained works such as Mozart's "Ave Verum," Beethoven's "Creation's Hymn," Brahms' "Lullaby," Mendelssohn's "A Cold Frost Came," "Upon the Water" (four-part male choir!), Schubert's "Sanctus" from the "German Mass." This had to be repeated.

The Torres Straits Islanders are fond of good music. Very often people could be heard singing or whistling parts of the choruses the children had been taught—with one exception: Mendelssohn. He does not seem to appeal to them. But a lasting impression on the native mind was made by Beethoven's "Creation's Hymn." While I was practising the first two lines with the male voices, a group of young men watched outside the classroom. Their musical instinct told them that these parts belonged to an extraordinary work. The results became obvious on the next day, when the whole choir was assembled. After having rehearsed each part separately, I ordered the whole choir to sing. And then, something unexpected took place. These two lines came off with such a purity of tone that after the last chord some of the bigger children

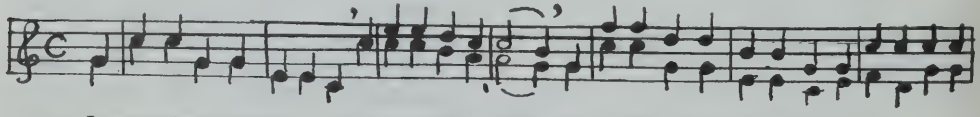
jumped from their places, rubbed their hands, and shouted with joy. Outside the classroom the chairman of the mission, who happened to come across, stopped and listened. But before the enthusiasm died down I ordered one repetition after the other. In the village the excitement grew: people came out of their houses, and there was no attention in the other classrooms. I could hear how some men who had to carry some timber from underneath my classroom to the beach worked in a hurry in order to spend a few more moments near the school house. After a sufficient number of repetitions I passed on to another chorus, not without having promised the children some more repetitions before the end of the period.

When I left the classroom at lunch recess, some junior pupils, who formed a singing class of their own, told me that they would like to sing with the bigger children, because "it was better singing." Not even adult people concealed their emotion.

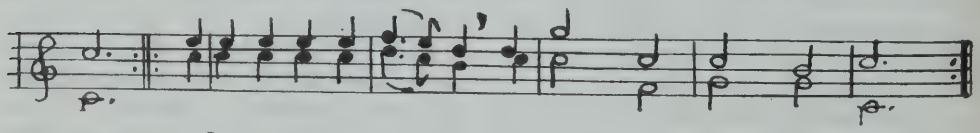
During the following weeks the whole of "Creation's Hymn" was studied and sung in public. The villagers were delighted. One day, when I was on the way to the chairman, I passed the house of Malachi Levi. There I heard him and his household sing the work in four parts: the adult people had learned it from the children. No sooner had I left the chairman than the same took place in his house.

When, after three years' absence, I returned to the islands (March, 1954), I found that Malachi Levi, who had invented many a tune before, had adapted the first two and the last line of the chorus to the wording of hymn No. 8 of the Torres Straits Western Hymnal. It is usually sung after Sermon. During the following year it spread all over the western islands, with some slight alterations. It is still called "St. Paul's Mission Creation's Hymn," and is cherished by everybody.

The tune is given in its final version (originally the coda was sung only once, and the four minims before the final note were four crotchets). The meaning of the words is somewhat similar to those of the Beethoven tune, but they differ slightly from the printed text. The syllables in square brackets are omissions, those in



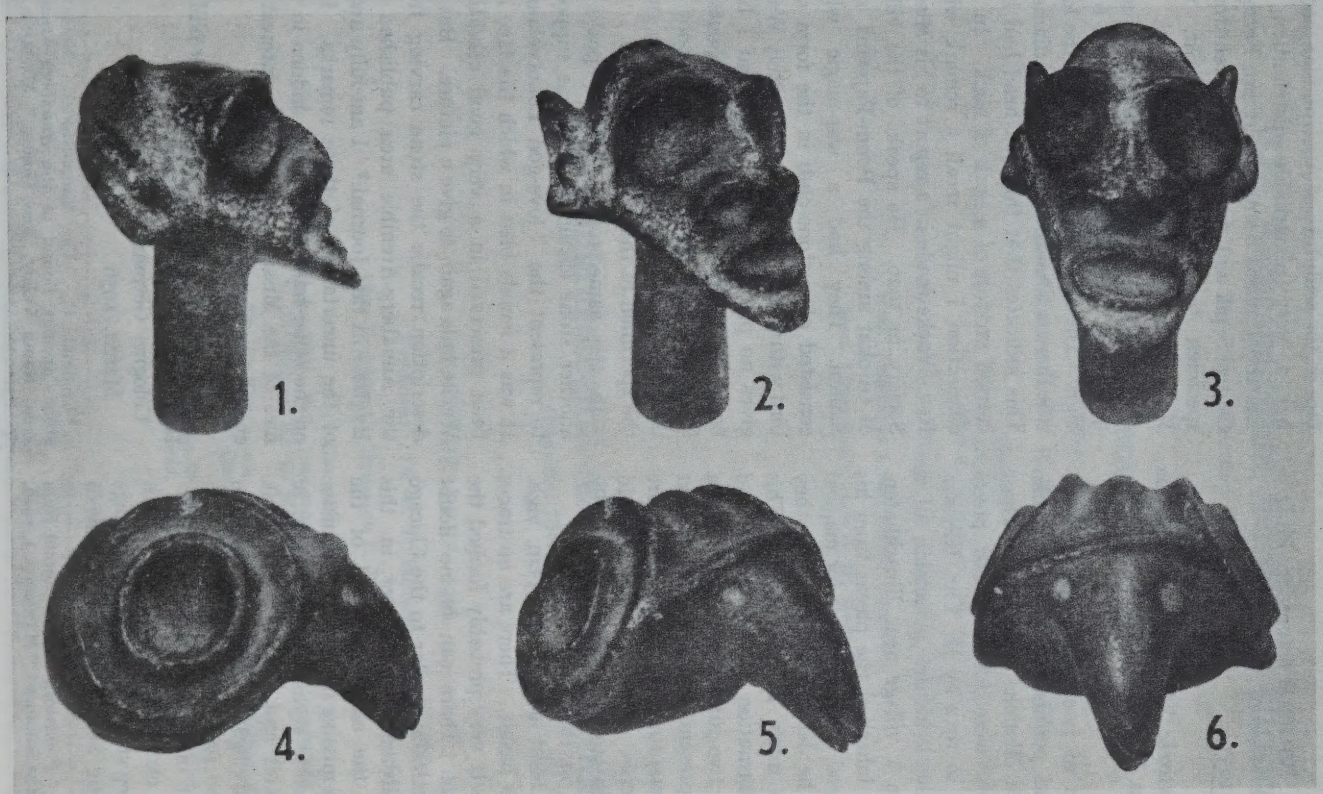
1. *Ie-ovan (me) mina i-a kapu i-a mina—Wa-ra zaget(e) aiginga ngalpu-ni-a.*
2. *Ku-lanu a-da pu-da-i A wara za apal—Ma ba-i-ga-u mi—na za kuiku gar-.*
3. *Ma ba-i-gau ngona numan[i] Kui ku gar kaziu Ta-ma-mata ngona numan[i] akapu.*
4. *I-ngaru ia kadai tari I-na Iesun i-a— Karawaig(a) i-di—mi U-iet koiga-.*



1. *apal.*
2. *kaziu za.*
3. *apka azin.*
4. *re-sar.*

—Ka-ra-waig(a) i-di-mi U-iet koiga-re-sar.

TWO 'PREHISTORIC' STONE OBJECTS FROM THE HUON PENINSUIA.



Views 1, 2 and 3 illustrate the basalt human head, whilst 4, 5 and 6 show the bird's head. For full description see Dr. Schmitz's Letter to the Editor in this issue of the journal.

round brackets are additions. The adaptation to the new tune made these changes necessary.

WILHELM RECHNITZ, Ph.D.
Edward River Mission,
December, 1955.

Two " Prehistoric " Stone Objects from the Huon Peninsula.

Sir,

Descriptions of two specimens are published by kind permission of the German Neuendettelsau Missions Museum, in whose possession they were found. Both pieces were collected in 1912 by Dr. Chr. Keysser. They were found in the possession of a Jabim-Chief in a village near Finschhafen. The man had inherited the pieces from his family. He used the two stones for magical purposes, but he definitely stated that they had not been made by his people. This is all the information Dr. Keysser could gather on the two interesting pieces. In a letter to the present writer he added that it was quite usual for rich families to acquire such rare pieces. This, however, would mean that both stones were not necessarily " prehistoric " in that particular area.

The human head is about 12·5 cm. high. The material is basalt. There are no traces of any paint. It very probably formed the top of a pestle. There can be no doubt that it is stylistically similar to the Chicago specimen published by Schuster in this Journal,[1] but the elongated head of the Chicago piece is missing in this case. Schuster suggests a possible stylized exaggeration of a deformed skull and recalls some Sepik River wood carvings. I prefer to think in that case of the particular hair-dress along the north coast of New Guinea.

The stylistic elements of the face on both pieces recall very strongly the wood carvings of Engano in the west and those of Hawaii in the east. The present writer has shown in a forthcoming paper that this type of face in the sculpture of Austronesian peoples has a very remarkable distribution, i.e. Engano, Central Borneo, Southern Formosa, Central Sepik and, finally, the " prehistoric " specimen in the Huon Peninsula, then Marquesas, New Zealand and Hawaii.

The bird head is even more unique in quality for New Guinea. It is about 6 cm. high. The material is basalt. On the lower side there is a hole of about 2 cm. in diameter. This indicates that the bird head had been carried on top of a sort of stick. In this connection I might recall a remark which Rev. Wacke made in a report to his Mission Society in 1920. He speaks of the village of Girokat among the Poum-Papuans, near Sialum. They had a war-magic which consisted of a stone-club in the form of a bird with a long beak. Unfortunately Wacke gives no pictures in his report and I have been unable to trace the whereabouts of his personal notes. Therefore I cannot say if this remark has any connection with the specimen in the Mission Museum.

In the same report Wacke speaks of another stone carving which was supposed to represent the " love-god Lokotvelaine." It was a female bust in which the face had been preserved in a very good condition. Wacke fails again to give a picture. But his description recalls the stone carving from the Annaberg-Atemble area published by England in this Journal.[2] I am fully aware of the uncertainty of these remarks. But on the other hand these notes, hidden in the files of the Mission Society, are interesting enough to be made public.

CARL A. SCHMITZ, Dr.phil.
Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum,
Cologne, Germany,
March, 1956.

[1] Schuster, C., " Prehistoric Stone Objects from New Guinea and the Solomons," MANKIND, 3, 1946, pp. 247–251.

[2] England, P., " The Ramu-Stones. Notes on Stone-Carvings Found in the Annaberg-Atemble Area, Ramu Valley, New Guinea," MANKIND, 3, pp. 231–236.

The Anthropological Society of Victoria

(Founded 1932)

OFFICE-BEARERS, 1956-7.

President: Dr. A. Gallus.

Vice-Presidents: Dr. R. M. Wishart, Mr. E. D. Gill.

Council:
Mr. H. R. Balfour, Mr. H. C. E. Stewart, Col. N. McArthur, Mr. C. A. S. Mansbridge, Miss L. Young.

Hon. Secretary: Mr. R. C. Seeger, 56 Jenkins St., Northcote, N.16.

Hon. Treasurer: Mr. H. R. Hammett.

Hon. Librarian: Miss S. M. Seeger.

The Anthropological Society of Queensland

(Founded 1948)

OFFICE-BEARERS, 1956.

President: Dr. B. B. Barrack.

Vice-President: Professor F. W. Robinson.

Council:
Dr. L. P. Winterbotham, M.B., B.S., Professor H. S. Wilkinson, Associate Professor M. F. Hickey, Mr. G. Mack, Mr. R. Mason.

Hon. Treasurer: Dr. G. Kenny, c/o Anatomy Department, Medical School, University of Queensland, Brisbane.

Hon. Secretary: Mr. F. S. Colliver, c/o Geology Department, University of Queensland, St. Lucia, Brisbane.

The Australian Anthropological Association

Members:

Anthropological Society of New South Wales.
Anthropological Society of the Northern Territory.
Anthropological Society of South Australia.
Anthropological Society of Queensland.
Anthropological Society of Victoria.

OBJECTS.

(*a*) To promote the science of Anthropology.

(*b*) To hold biennial conferences of delegates from affiliated societies to deal with matters affecting affiliated societies generally, or the science of anthropology.

(*c*) To take public and official action in the interests of anthropology, as may be deemed desirable.

(*d*) To encourage affiliated societies to co-operate in every possible way.

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All communications, MSS., and proposed advertisements to be addressed to Mr. F. L. S. Bell, M.A., Editor, City of Sydney Public Library, George Street, Sydney.

Persons interested in the work of the Society please address correspondence to the Hon. Secretary.